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"She was born speaking English and Spanish!" Co-Constructing Identities and Exploring Children's Bilingual Language Practices in a Two-Way Immersion Program in Central Texas.

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"She was born speaking English and Spanish!" Co-Constructing Identities and Exploring Children's Bilingual Language Practices in a Two-Way Immersion Program in Central Texas.

by

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Dedication

In loving memory of my father who played an unforgettable and significant role in the construction of my bilingual identity:

Rafael García Castillo

October 26, 1951 – February 27, 1988

Siempre estarás en mi corazón y en mis recuerdos como un padre amoroso y chistoso.

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This journey began when I was 18-years-old and arrived to my first day of community college two hours early because I was determined to pass all three remedial courses I was placed in: writing, reading, and math. Being enrolled in remedial classes had taken a toll on me because I was placed in them since middle school, but I was also motivated in beating the odds that were supposedly against me. This label both haunted and encouraged me to work hard all through graduate school.

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"She was born speaking English and Spanish!" Co-Constructing Identities and Exploring Children's Bilingual Language Practices in a Two-Way Immersion Program in Central Texas.

Suzanne García Mateus, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2016

Supervisors: Deborah K. Palmer, Claudia Cervantes-Soon

This ethnographic and longitudinal study examined how the language practices of emergent bilingual students in a two-way immersion classroom, dual language (TWDL) program contributed to the co-construction of their and each others' identities. I drew from theoretical frameworks related to the concept of identity specifically: sociocultural linguistics, figured worlds, and positioning theory. Key findings suggest that the strategies teachers used to promote language learning played a role in the ways students were positioned. Additionally, a critical curriculum opened up spaces in the classroom where children could draw from their linguistic repertoire despite the strict separation of the language of instruction in TWDL programs. Finally, when teachers modeled flexible bilingualism they promoted the use of both Spanish and English, at times simultaneously, and the academic content became the focus. As a result, students engaged in deeper conversations about social inequities experienced by minoritized language communities. The findings have implications for our 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrant students learning alongside language-majority students, particularly in the areas of teacher education, research, and language policy in TWDL programs.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

What can happen when you bring together a group of linguistically, ethnically, and economically diverse students with the firm intention of becoming bilingual? Previous literature has examined various ways that a dual language bilingual education (DLBE) program offers a space for distinct groups of students to come together to learn two languages (Alanis & Rodriguez, 2008; Gomez, Freeman, & Freeman, 2005; Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Lindholm-Leary & Hernandez, 2011). In fact, when considering and implementing program models in our nation's public schools, advocates for DLBE have emphasized the merging of children from different demographics (Cummins, 2000; Thomas & Collier, 2002). The dual language bilingual education program models are designed so that by the end of a child's primary school experience, the child will be bilingual and bicultural. A critical component of the 50/50 two-way immersion dual language (TWDL) program requires that at least one-third of the students in the classroom are from Spanish-speaking backgrounds (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2012). This ratio of 1:3 is considered crucial in order for language-majority students to acquire the second language, such as Spanish. In fact, 92% of dual language bilingual education programs in the U.S. are Spanish/English models (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2016).

It is interesting to ask, what can happen in 50/50 TWDL programs when the minority language being used, such as Spanish, carries very little status in what academics refer to as the "local" community, or as part of everyday life (Erickson, 2004;

Pennycook, 2010) In this study, I have examined what discourse analysts refer to as a "local" context and the ways in which the "global" context infiltrates into the social relationships of children. My intent was not to solve global issues, but to find ways by which language-minority and language-majority students can successfully come together in a local context, such as the classroom, to become bilingual without compromising the construction of powerful bilingual identities. The construction of powerful bilingual identities is especially crucial for language minorities in terms of academic success (Bartlett & García, 2011; Reyes & Vallone, 2007). Scholars have demonstrated that when practitioners position the dynamic language practices of students in positive ways in the classroom, students are more likely to also develop positive bilingual and academic identities.

PURPOSE

One way this study contributes to the literature focused on the construction of positive identities was by examining the way in which the use of Spanish and English manifested into code switching and/or translating between children. Even though the program model had a strict policy of language separation, children in this study were positioned so that code switching was allowed in order to bridge understanding, to express an emotion, and at times as a crutch (Zentella, 1997). It is specifically because the conventional wisdom, or ideology, is so inundated with scholarly work advocating for the practice of language separation in settings like the DLBE classroom, where linguistically diverse students come together, that this study is warranted (Palmer,

Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014). This study explored how one TWDL program evolved over the course of 4 years by focusing on the interactions that occurred among a cohort of students. These interactions are examined as representations of the larger social and political issues that infiltrated into the classroom.

This chapter will provide a brief historical context and an overview of bilingual education. I will also describe what bilingual education and bilingualism are and their relevancy for this study. I will then introduce the body of research that explores identity construction in bilingual contexts and classrooms. The terms and definitions below are provided to allow the reader to understand how these constructs are framed in this study.

Terms and Definitions

> *Bilingual Education* (BE): requires the institutionalization of the use of two languages in school – by teachers or students or both – for a variety of social and pedagogical purposes (National Association of Bilingual Education, 2014).
>
> *Dual Language Bilingual Education:* an umbrella term used to describe language programs (such as, one-way and two-way immersion and developmental bilingual education) that have bilingualism as the end goal (Howard, Olague, & Rogers, 2003). Cummins describes immersion education, such as the DLBE classroom, as supporting an additive form of bilingualism where students are also "adding a second language to their repertoire of skills at no cost to the development of their first language" (p. 36).
>
> *Dynamic Bilingualism*: a concept of bilingualism as an *integrated system* where the language practices of bi/multilingual communities (i.e., translanguaging) are used to fulfill different purposes and to construct meaning depending on the context (García, 2009; García & Bartlett, 2011).
>
> *Emergent Bilingual:* an individual learning 2 or more languages who draws from their repertoire of language(s) to make meaning (García, 2008; García & Kleifgan, 2010).

Heritage Language: a language not spoken by the dominant culture, but is spoken in the family or associated with the heritage culture of immigrants, refugee, indigenous, or colonized groups (Cummins, 2005; Freeman, 2004; Krashen, 1998).

Heritage Language Learner/Heritage Speaker of Spanish: students who come from communities and /or homes where a minority language, like Spanish, is spoken, or who are aiming to recover a heritage language that was lost in their family (García, 2011; Valdes, 2005).

Language Minority: includes immigrants and U.S. children of immigrants from a language or dialect other than U.S. "standard" English (Center for Research on Education, Diversity, Excellence, 2000).

Language Majority: includes individuals associated with the dominant culture and language of the U.S. (Center for Research on Education, Diversity, Excellence, 2000).

Minority Language: refers to languages other than English in the United States which can also be minoritized due to their lower status (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2010).

Third Generation + and/or 3.5 Immigrants: describing students who are heritage language learners, but also associated with belonging to the dominant culture and language of the U.S.

Two-Way Immersion Education, or 50/50 two-way DLBE: integrates language-minority and language-majority students for all or most of the school day and strives to promote bilingualism and biliteracy by dedicating an equal amount of the instructional time (50/50) to both languages, in addition to grade-level academic achievement for *all* students (Christian, 1994).

In this study, heritage language learners are also referred to as language-minority students and heritage speakers of Spanish.

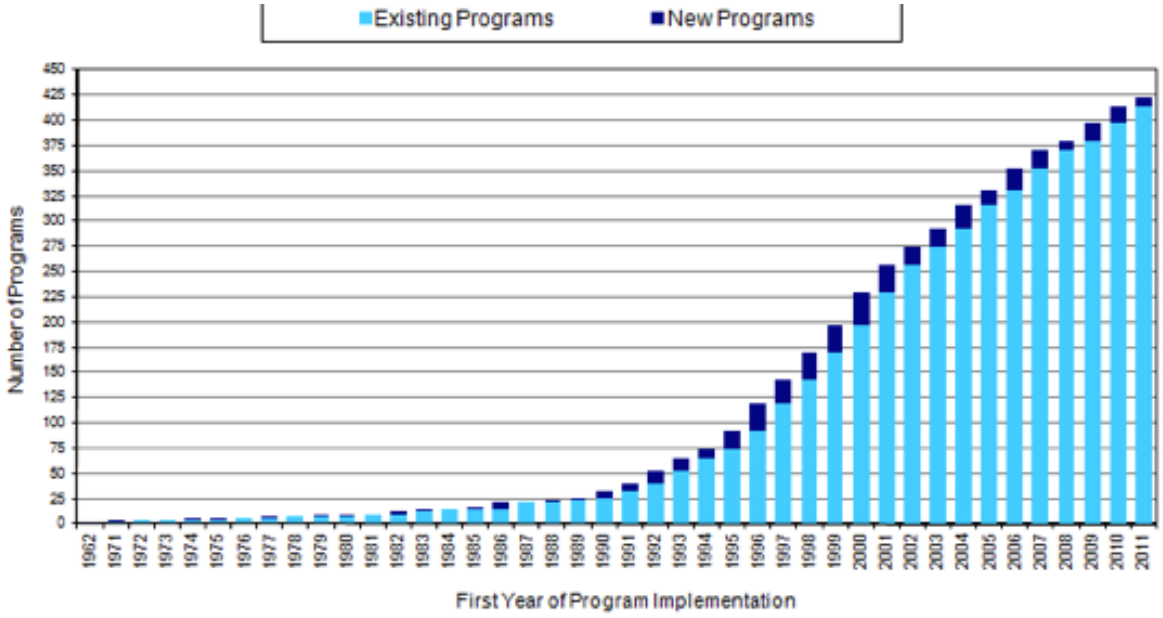
BILINGUAL EDUCATION: A BRIEF HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The field of bilingual education emerged due to the political work and activism of parents, teachers, administrators, and other community members who firmly believed in

providing language-minority children an additive form of bilingual education. They influenced the way language programs evolved in our nation's public schools. Advocates proposed bilingual education (BE) models that were designed and implemented in response to the Bilingual Education Act of 1968 and the 1974 decision of Lau vs. Nichols.

Dual language bilingual education models, on the other hand, specifically in the context of the U.S., primarily arose out of parental interests, including those of linguistic minority and majority populations. Parents wanted their children to become bilingual. After Proposition 227 passed in California in 1998, which prohibited the use of native language instruction, several DLBE programs emerged over the following years (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2016). That is to say, even when California banned bilingual education, DLBE continued to grow and, in some ways, more rapidly than BE. The table below illustrates the growth since 1962 of two-way immersion programs in the U.S. It should be noted that BE is an umbrella term; DLBE programs are but one of many models under it.

Table 1: Growth of TWI programs 1962-Present



Source: Directory of Two-Way Immersion Programs in the United States. Available at http://www.cal.org/twi/directory.

During the 1990s, California experienced a wave of immigrants from Spanish-speaking countries (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001). It was during this decade when a campaign against BE, led by California political activist and businessman Ron Unz, ultimately abolished primary language support services for students in school who spoke a language other than English (Unz & Tuchman, 1997). It is important to note that, although BE services were eliminated, DLBE programs created a space where at least some children continue to learn in their native language at the same time as they become bilingual. During the 1990s, the number of two-way immersion programs swelled from 41 in 1990 to 284 in the year 2000 (Center for Applied Linguistics, 2016). The programs

in place seek to serve a larger demographic that includes both students from language-minority and language-majority backgrounds.

Another way DLBE programs have grown more rapidly includes the way the models have increased the status of what it means to be bilingual; by integrating language-majority students, who otherwise would not have learned a minority language like Spanish. The foreign language education community also brought about the impetus.

In bilingual education, we often neglect to consider how foreign language education, during economically depressed times, has motivated and contributed to pedagogy and research as a field. Additionally, the competitive edge of a global education discourse has influenced the popularity of these programs (Varghese & Park, 2010; Cervantes-Soon, 2014). There is also potential for community support by having language-minority and language-majority students come together to become bilingual. That being said, when we consider the aims to serve the needs of HLL students, both as practitioners and as researchers in dual language bilingual education settings, we must also ask ourselves, as Ortega (2005) and others have urged, for what purpose and for whom is the DLBE program? This research aims to be part of that answer by taking a closer look at how the HLLs in this study have been positioned over the course of 4 years in a 50/50 two-way immersion program.

WHAT IS BILINGUAL EDUCATION AND BILINGUALISM?

Fortune & Tedick (2008) described how language programs like bilingual education "develop in response to local needs and sociocultural contexts" (p. 3) in our

nation's public schools. This was the case for the rise of DLBE programs in the state of California and this is the case in other contexts as well. In explaining what bilingual education is, I draw from Baker's (2001) description that bilingual education includes more than one language and sometimes more than two languages at a time. I also draw from a journalist, James Crawford (1995), when he described bilingual education as an all-encompassing label used to include various programs, such as English as a Second Language (ESL), Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE), Maintenance or Developmental Bilingual Education (DBE). As mentioned, bilingual education is an umbrella term that includes all the DLBE models (Crawford, 1995). Fortune and Tedick (2008) described dual language bilingual education as an umbrella term that includes two-way immersion, one-way immersion, foreign language immersion, developmental bilingual education, and indigenous immersion. Essentially, bilingual education is education through two languages, which includes models that are both "additive" and "subtractive" with regard to language acquisition (see table below).

Table 2: Models of Bilingual Education

Bilingual Education	
Dual Language Bilingual Education *Goal: Bilingualism*	*Traditional Bilingual Education* *Goal: Acquire English*
50/50 & 90/10 One-way Immersion/Developmental Bilingual Education (DBE)	Transitional Bilingual Education (TBE)
50/50 & 90/10 Two-way Immersion Dual Language Bilingual Education (TWDL)	English as a Second Language (ESL): Sheltered, Pull Out, or Push In.
Maintenance Bilingual Education	
Foreign Language Immersion and Indigenous Immersion.	

Dual language bilingual education is enrichment-oriented education through two languages. Dual language bilingual education programs, along with maintenance and developmental bilingual education, build on the students' native languages to develop bilingualism. A 90/10 TWDL model uses the minority language 90% of the time and gradually adds in the majority language with each successive grade level. It is considered a more effective approach to the acquisition of the minority language because it places greater status on the minority language. In addition, this model is considered better suited for language-minority students because they continue to learn in their "native" language. Transitional Bilingual Education and English as a Second Language programs generally

promote learning English as the ultimate goal (Thomas & Collier, 2002). In these BE models, children learn English at the expense of Spanish; hence, the models' subtractive element. This study defines two-way immersion education as a language program where children from diverse language communities come together to develop their bilingualism and to co-construct their own and each other's sense of identity. In deriving my definition, I drew from what García (2009) stated about bilingual education theoretical frameworks. My definition includes a dynamic theoretical framework. By referring to the TWDL context as a place where students "develop their bilingualism," I propose that TWDL also can be a place where dynamic bilingualism is fostered. García (2009) described dynamic bilingual programs as those that "…develop the ability to move along the many points of the bilingual continuum" (p. 118). That is to say, a dynamic component to TWDL takes into account students' linguistic resources when learning and developing more than one language. García (2009) describes this dynamic theoretical framework as promoting the co-construction of identities since it allows one to "…consider all students as a whole, acknowledge their bilingual continuum, see their bilingualism as a resource, and thus promote *transcultural* identities…" (p. 119). In the process of "becoming bilingual" when part of a TWDL program, students are developing a sense of what it means to identify as bilingual.

Bilingualism is a phenomenon that does not manifest itself in dichotomous ways when it comes to language use, in contrast with the design of traditional bilingual education models. This study defines bilingualism as the way a bilingual person

‘‘languages’ differently and [has] diverse and unequal experiences with each of the two languages” (García, 2009, p. 45). In this study, I also refer to students in TWDL programs as falling somewhere along a bilingual continuum “that is not solely about one language, or the other, but simultaneously about both” and, therefore, all students are not only ‘emerging bilinguals’ (García, 2009, p. 142; Hornberger, 2003), but also are in the process of “developing their bilingualism” as stated in my definition. Hornberger’s (2003) continua of biliteracy illustrates a similar concept, and it is also a depiction of the range of resources for communicating which bilinguals have at their disposal:

> …first language – second language, receptive-productive, and oral-written language skills continua; through the medium of two (or more) languages and literacies whose linguistic structures vary…and to which the developing biliterate individual’s exposure varies from simultaneous to successive; in contexts that encompass micro to macro levels and are characterized by varying mixes along the monolingual-bilingual and oral-literate continua… (p. xiv).

As previously mentioned, in this study I am defining TWDL as a language program where children from diverse language communities come together to develop their bilingualism and co-construct their own and each other’s sense of identity. This definition is firmly rooted in research that views identity construction developing in tandem with linguistic skills. For example, Reyes & Vallone (2007) explicitly stated the important role identity plays in TWDL programs when they, “…propose that for linguistic minority children, developing and/or maintaining a minority, or heritage, language may be

foundational to promoting positive identity construction" (p. 5). As further clarified by Anzaldua (1987), "Ethnic identity is twin skin to linguistic identity." Valdes' (1997) cautionary note described the importance of a classroom context that supports the development of a positive identity for HLLs because it, in turn, means improving cognitive, academic, and linguistic skills. She wrote, "In contexts in which their culture and identity are supported, children can develop enhanced cognitive abilities, as well as key academic linguistic skills, which will then transfer to their acquisition of academic English" (p. 398). To that end, Reyes & Vallone (2007) focused in on what they call an additive bilingual pedagogy that has the potential of positioning students in ways where the HLL develops a positive ethnic identity and the language-majority student develops a positive cross-cultural attitude. Scholarly work has found that this means placing value on the ways ethnic minorities use Spanish and English; for example, code switching and translating, which includes the use of "non-standard" forms of Spanish (Dorner, Orellana, Li-Grining, 2007; Martínez-Roldán, 2003; Martínez, 2010; Orellana, 2003; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Tamati, 2001).

Dual Language Bilingual Education

According to the Center for Applied Linguistics (2016), 92% of two-way immersion programs in the U.S. use Spanish and English as the languages of instruction. Interestingly, about 63% of TWI programs in the state of California are minority-language dominant, whereas 41% are minority-language dominant in the state of Texas (Howard & Sugarman, 2003). That is to say, the majority of TWI programs in the state of

California use the 90/10-program model, where the minority language is used 90% of the instructional time and reaching a 50/50 ratio by 4th grade. The other major model of DLBE is the 50/50 program, more popular in Texas. That is the model used in the school that was the focus of this program.

The 50/50 TWDL model used in this study included students from language-minority and language-majority backgrounds who were learning another language through content area instruction (Gomez, Freeman, & Freeman, 2005). The design of the 50/50 two-way immersion program in this study included: students working in bilingual pairs or groups; language of the day (LOD); bilingual learning centers (BLCs); project-based learning; and bilingual research centers. The LOD component of the DLBE program design called for Monday, Wednesday, and Friday as designated Spanish days and Tuesday and Thursday as designated English days. The purpose behind assigning a LOD, which is expected to be followed throughout the school campus and during specials, lunch, and recess, is to validate the use of both English and Spanish by the community. In fact, DLBE, by design, also included a strict policy of separating the language of instruction between different content areas, such as reading, math, social studies, or science (see Table 3 below). The 50/50 TWDL, or two-way immersion education program, asked practitioners to designate the language of instruction during language arts and reading, according to the students' native language, during pre-kindergarten through first grade (Gomez, Freeman, & Freeman, 2005). The model encouraged teachers to spend, starting in second grade, equal amounts of instructional time in English and Spanish during the language arts and reading block. As such,

students, to a certain degree, were being asked to interact in both languages during this block; whereas, in the previous 3 years, students developed their literacy skills strictly in their native language.

Table 3: Commercial TWDL Model (Dual Training Institute Website, 2013)

	PK - 1	**2nd – 5th**	**Time**
Reading/ Language Arts	Native Language (Only time students are separated by L1)	Spanish and English *equal instructional time daily	90-120 minutes
Science	Spanish	Spanish	45 minutes
Social Studies	Spanish	Spanish	45 minutes
Math	English	English	90 minutes

In addition, according to recent studies by Alanis & Rodriguez (2008) and Lindholm-Leary (2005), "effective features" or "features of success" of dual language education programs enforced language separation in various areas, notably in assessments, curriculum, and instruction. Although program implementation is only briefly discussed in these studies, it does play a role in the way the community, specifically teachers, parents, and students, interacted and supported a 50/50 two-way immersion dual language programs. Lindholm-Leary (2005), described "program structure" as an effective feature, which included "a cohesive school-wide shared vision and set of goals," where all children were expected to develop strong linguistic and academic skills (p. 26). When it came to successful implementation, Alanis & Rodriguez

(2008) included "pedagogical equity, qualified bilingual teachers, active parent-home collaboration, and knowledgeable leadership" (p. 316) as features that could ensure success for TWDL programs.

CO-CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITY

Drawing from Bucholtz and Hall (2005) identity is broadly defined as, "the social positioning of self and other" (p. 586). Researchers from interdisciplinary fields, such as sociolinguistics, education, and anthropology, have contributed to our understanding of the co-construction of identity by examining how the prolific use of language, whether style-shifting, code switching, stance-taking, performance, or pragmatics, can serve as markers to an individual's identity (Alim, 2004; Bakhtin, 1981; Bourdieu, 1977; Martínez, 2010; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Palmer, 2008; Paris, 2009; Toribio, 2000; Zentella, 1997; Cummins, 2000; Gonzales, 2005; Nieto, 2002; Reyes & Vallone, 2007). These markers, or indices, also serve to position people during an interaction. For example, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) described the co-construction of identity as involving: "…linguistic resources that indexically produce identity…these tools are put to use in interaction, the process of identity construction does not reside within the individual but in intersubjective relations…" (p. 608). It is through the use of tools, or linguistic resources, that individuals negotiate the meaning of their social positions and emerging identities.

Identity Construction in Bilingual Contexts and Among Children

It is worth noting that a motivating factor in pursuing my doctoral research with a focus on identity construction in the TWDL context stems from Valdes' (1997) cautionary note. In her paper, she warns practitioners and academics with an interest in the education of linguistic minorities of how TWDL programs seek to serve the needs of two distinct populations: language minorities and language majorities. An interest in TWDL programs by language minorities includes the development of a heritage language, while for students from language majority backgrounds, it can be seen as a way to gain global, political, and economic advancement (Parkes, 2008; Valdes, 1997). With these interests in mind, Valdes cautions that: 1) students may continue to segregate themselves based on ethnic, linguistic, and economic backgrounds despite integration efforts; and, 2) students may receive "watered down" Spanish instruction due to the inclusion of language-majority students, often from upper middle-class backgrounds, who speak the language with the most status: English.

As noted by Ruiz (1984), language is more than just a tool we use to communicate; it is also a resource we draw on to do many things. One is the co-construction of our own and another's identity. When we teach students in settings like the TWDL classroom, we are teaching them that languages are tools for co-constructing identity and are also resources we draw on for many things. García (2009) asserted:

> When children's language identities converge in the practices they engage in at home, in schools, and in the community, bilingualism develops in additive, recursive, or dynamic ways, giving more opportunity for children to obtain the cognitive and social advantage of bilingualism. (p. 106)

During my research in a TWDL program, I have seen children tap into their own and each other's linguistic resources, depending on the opportunities teachers have afforded them in using their bilingualism or linguistic repertoires. Scholarly work that acknowledges the ways identity construction develops in tandem with linguistic skills includes the review by Cummins (2000) of research that focuses on immersion education, where, in some cases, language-minority and language-majority students were integrated in order to learn and acquire another language. His review also considered the role identity plays in immersion education. Cummins critiqued the ways in which some immersion programs have approached the use of a foreign language. He described this use of a foreign language as being "based on the reality that L2 acquisition will remain abstract and largely trivial unless students have the opportunity to express themselves - their identities and their intelligence - through that language" (p. 7). Students need to have the opportunity to negotiate meaning by expressing themselves as they are, as emerging bilinguals; otherwise, language development and acquisition can suffer (Benjamin, 1996; Martínez, 2010; Martínez-Roldán, 2003; Ortega, 2005; Reyes & Vallone, 2007; Valdes, 2005; Zentella, 1997).

The ethnographic work done by several scholars, including Bartlett & García (2011), described the social and cultural experiences of immigrant youth in school settings where a form of additive schooling exists. They point out that the setting increased the status of the minority language, producing "bilingualism," and supporting the development of a positive ethnic identity (Bartlett, 2007; Bearse & de Jong, 2008;

García, 2009; Jong & Howard, 2009; Palmer & Martínez, 2012; Reyes & Vallone, 2007). By including a dynamic element to the TWDL classroom, we can, as Bartlett & García (2011) indicated, "…situate language learning as a community (rather than individual) phenomenon that evolves within a sociocultural and sociopolitical context" (p. 3). A dynamic approach to bilingual development relies on the linguistic resources, social and cultural, that the entire community has at its disposal when interacting in settings, such as the TWDL context.

THE STUDY

This study was part of a larger project entitled *Dual Language Enrichment Bilingual Education: An Ethnography and Discourse Analysis and Policy Implementation in Two Diverse Urban Schools.* The larger study examined how macro and micro factors came into play during the top-down implementation of a 50/50 TWDL model in one small elementary school in a large urban district. The 50/50 TWDL model was chosen in 2010 because, by design, it required the integration of a language-minority and language-majority student demographic, which due to the changing student population at Hillside elementary, it was an ideal fit. At the district level, this model was selected because it was designed for heritage speakers of Spanish living alongside the Mexican-American border and seemed like an appropriate fit for the school districts largest student demographic: Latinos.

As an ethnographic study, there were other factors examined, such as policy and ideologies, as well as my area of interest: identity development. I used the pseudonym

Hillside Elementary to discuss the school community. For now, it is useful to know that I followed the same cohort of students for a yearly 6-week period over four years. It is also important to note that each year the program provided a different context, a different teacher, and different ways in which the students were asked to interact.

In this study, the classroom was understood as a place that has the potential to support the development of a positive identity for HLLs by increasing cognitive, academic, and linguistic skills (Valdes, 1997). This study explored the co-construction of identity between students, all considered emerging bilinguals, in a TWDL context. The following research questions, therefore, will guided my analysis:

1. What role do teachers play in the interactional co-construction of emerging bilinguals' identities within a 50/50 TWDL program?

2. What role do students play in interactionally co-constructing their own and each other's identities within a 50/50 TWDL program?

3. How are the identities of heritage language learners interactionally co-constructed over the course of four years (K- 3rd grade) within a 50/50 TWDL program?

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

In summary, this introductory chapter of my dissertation presented the purpose, a brief historical context of bilingual education, a definition of bilingualism, and the significance of this study. The subsequent seven chapters follow the standard format for a qualitative project: theoretical framework and review of the literature (Chapter 2), methodology, methods, and the significance of this study (Chapter 3), a chapter describing the demographic changes and introducing the student participants of this study

(Chapter 4), 3 findings chapters (see below), and a final chapter covering the discussion, conclusion, and implications (Chapter 8). This qualitative study explored, over the course of four years, the language practices of a cohort of students in a TWDL program. Chapter 5 provides a nuanced description of each classroom, from Kindergarten to 3rd grade, and examines how each classroom teacher positioned language learning and students as she navigated the implementation of the TWDL program. Chapter 7 is a special case study of one student, Elizabeth, examining how she positioned herself and how others positioned her, over the course of three years, through the interactional co-construction of identity. Special attention was given to the "non-standard" use of Spanish and English and how such practices can position heritage speakers of Spanish in positive and meaningful ways in school settings. It will provide helpful ethnographic data of heritage speakers of Spanish in TWDL programs in Central Texas. Moreover, results will enhance the existing scholarship available on this student population within the scope of TWDL programs. This chapter also provided definitions for the way this study defines terms related to bilingual education and the students whom participate in such programs.

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework that this study draws from to analyze the findings and examine how the linguistic practices of bilingual children in a TWDL context contributed to the co-construction of positive academic and bilingual identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Holland, Cain, Lachicotte, and Skinner 1998; Harré, 1997).

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework & Review of the Literature

This qualitative study drew from ethnographic methods and an epistemological constructivist perspective to provide an examination of the linguistic practices embodied by focal students in a TWDL program. From a constructivist perspective, social interaction is key to creating meaning (Crotty, 1998). This study used a sociocultural linguistic framework, which encompassed theories about the interactional co-construction of identity, to examine the ways children position themselves and each other in the context of a dual language classroom (Holland, Cain, Lachicotte, and Skinner, 1998; Bucholtz & Hall, 2008).

Epistemology and Theoretical Framework

A constructivist perspective maintains that, "all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context" (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). In this study, the human practice examined is the verbal exchanges between interlocutors in the context of a TWDL classroom.

The theories are best described in a sociocultural linguistic background since, as argued by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity is "constituted in linguistic interaction" (p. 585). In the following sections, I draw from Bucholtz and Hall's (2008) article to define and describe the theories included in a sociocultural linguistic framework. Secondly, in the sections below, I describe how this body of scholarship (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008), and

other work (Alim, 2004; Erickson, 2004; Martínez, 2010; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Palmer, 2008; Paris, 2009; Toribio, 2000; Zentella, 1997), has helped us understand the interactional co-construction of identity through language. Lastly, I briefly discussed how this literature can help us make sense of the identities that are constructed by and for students in bilingual classrooms.

Defining Sociocultural Linguistics

Bucholtz and Hall (2008) broadly defined sociocultural linguistics as a field of interdisciplinary scholarship, which draws from methodologies and theories using different approaches, such as sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology, linguistics, or social psychology, to focus on the study of language, culture, and society. More specifically, these researchers stated that a sociocultural linguistic framework places "language at the center of scholarly inquiry about culture and society" (p. 405). A sociocultural linguistic lens allows researchers to examine how the linguistic construction of identity works in tandem with social interaction. Researchers using a sociocultural linguistic framework have focused on various theoretical concepts related to language use; for example, practice, performativity, indexicality, ideology, agency, stance, and others. Bucholtz and Hall (2008) emphasize that:

> One notable development is the study of identity…[with] …race and ethnicity…as social categories that are both embedded within systems of social inequality and shaped by the agentive practices of individual speakers… (p. 407)

In the sections to follow, I discuss in greater detail scholarly work that embodied a sociocultural linguistic framework. More specifically, I describe how other researchers have examined the co-construction of identities during linguistic interactions (Alim, 2004; Erickson, 2004; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Paris, 2009; Toribio, 2000; Zentella, 1997).

Understanding the Interactional Co-construction of Identity

This study drew from the idea that identities are not static and are always in a state of change. In order to understand how researchers, such as Alim, (2004), Mendoza-Denton, (2008), Paris, (2009), Toribio, (2000), and Zentella, (1997) have made sense of the interactional co-construction of identity, a complex concept indeed, it is useful to begin with some basic definitions. In the article "Identity and Interaction: a Sociocultural Linguistic Approach" by Bucholtz and Hall (2005), identity was broadly defined as "the social positioning of self and other" (p. 586). Positioning, according to Davies and Harré (1990), "is when an individual emerges through the processes of social interaction not as a relatively fixed end product, but as one who is constituted and reconstituted through the various discursive practices in which they participate" (p. 4).

Researchers from interdisciplinary fields, such as sociolinguistics, education, and anthropology, have contributed to our understanding of the co-construction of identity. They have achieved this by examining how the prolific use of language, whether style-shifting, code switching, stance-taking, performance, or pragmatics, can serve as markers to an individual's identity (Alim, 2004; Martínez, 2010; Mendoza-Denton, 2008; Palmer,

2008; Paris, 2009; Toribio, 2000; Zentella, 1997). These markers, or indices, also serve to position people during an interaction.

Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) proposed framework includes five parts: the emergence, the positionality principle, the indexicality principle, the relationality principle, and the partialness principle. Furthermore, I do not mean to categorize or dichotomize the concept. I recognize that it is a very complex and multifaceted area of interest. These principles cover the different ways identity has been examined from various paradigms, such as positivist to post-structuralists. It should be noted that each principle builds upon the other.

The first principle, emergence, described identity as an integral part of an individual's mind rather than something that is also dependent on social interaction. The second principle, positionality, described identity as individuals belonging to broad social categories such as age, gender, race, and/or class. The indexicality principle emphasized the use of indices as a "linguistic form that depends on the interactional context for its meaning" (P. 594). That is, an index marker serves as a tool to position someone as falling into different categories such as racially, ethnically, and /or linguistically. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) described these linguistic forms as 'tools' where others have also referred to them as 'semiotic devices' (Bahktin, 1981; Holland et al., 1998), used by interlocutors in various contexts to negotiate meaning and co-construct their and each others sense of identity. The relationality principle reiterated the idea that "identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary relations including similarity/difference…" (p. 598) and it allows us to describe how the co-

construction of identity construction depends on several factors such as race, gender, education, and/or social class, all of which are constantly changing. The partialness principle described how:

> Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional. In part habitual and hence often less fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation. In part an outcome of others' …representations, and in part an effect of larger … material structures that may become relevant to interactions. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts. (p. 606)

The partialness principle helps illustrate the ways in which an index marker serves as a tool to position someone as falling into different categories; specifically, racial, ethnic, and linguistic. As described by Bucholtz and Hall, the co-construction of identity depends on several factors. Some of these factors include race, gender, education, and social class; all of which are constantly evolving. Bucholtz and Hall further clarify that, "identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary relations including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy." (p. 598).

For this study, I have chosen to draw solely on the partialness principle because each principle builds upon the other. In the following section, I will tie the work of

researchers to the partialness principle and how a sociocultural linguistic framework sheds light on the ways identity is constructed in and through discourse.

In Paris' (2009) article, he focused on the linguistic practices in which ethnic minority youth in South Vista, a pseudonym, engaged in order to index inter and intra group solidarity. At the time the data was collected, the city had been experiencing demographic changes. What was once a predominately black community now included a larger number of Latino and Pacific Islander (Samoan) ethnic minorities. These demographic changes increased the tension between the groups. Paris found that African American Language (AAL) was used between the various ethnic groups, such as Samoan, Black, and Latino, wherever students shared contexts, such as in the classroom and in the local community. Paris argues that, as a result, students' native languages and AAL became "tools" by which students were able to form ties within and between ethnic lines. By doing so, "Latino/a and Pacific Islander youth worked to simultaneously forge identities as members of their particular ethnic communities *and* as members of broader youth culture" (p. 16). As shown, students used the linguistic resources at their disposal, such as Spanish, Samoa, and AAL, to index designated ethnic group solidarity and to form ties with students from different racial, ethnic, and linguistic categories. This study closely examines the ways students used Spanish and English and how their use of either language facilitated their ability to position themselves and each other as "social" and/or "academic" bilinguals. These two categories, "social" versus "academic" bilinguals, emerged in this study as labels students and teachers used to talk about themselves and

other students (Interviews, 4/10/13, 5/7/13, 5/16/13). In chapter 5, I will describe in detail how the idea of a "social" versus an "academic" label manifested in the TWDL program.

Alim's (2004) examined the linguistic practices used by "Black American" high school students in various educational and community contexts, depending on race, gender, or the "Hip Hop cultural knowledge" of the interlocutors who were present. Alim states, "If we are going to say anything about the speech style of a given speaker in a given situation, we must consider, equally, the speech style of both (or all) interlocutors" (p. 41). Alim found that Black American youth would "style shift" between varieties of AAL; for example, Hip Hop, Black Language, and what he called "mainstream English." Style shifting depended largely on the educational and/or community context in which the interlocutors had met and to whom they were speaking. This ethnographic study highlights how identity is constructed in and through talk, in the form of style shifting, by describing the discursive strategies, such as suck-teeth, repetition, Black American Falsetto, and battling mode used by the Black American youth, as well as the researcher, to negotiate social positions between speakers and within certain contexts.

Mendoza-Denton's (2008) ethnographic study on Latina gang members combined sociolinguistics with discourse analysis and social theory to examine "…how semiotic elements of speech, bodily practices, and symbolic exchanges are employed to signal social affiliation, coming together to form styles – specifically the 'Norteña' and 'Sureña' gang girl styles of Northern California" (p. 294). This research shed light on the ways that identity is constructed in and through interaction, by underscoring what Bahktin (1981) called "semiotic devices," such as those displayed by body language to mark a

Sureña or Norteña gang member's identity. In Mendoza-Denton's analysis of language behavior, she includes what the social theorist Erickson (2004) refers to as a: "social situation [that] can be considered a special kind of mediating entity. It does not simply draw a boundary between social life at the level of institutions and social life as it is emergent within the conduct of immediate social interaction. Rather the social situation connects the institutional and the emergent" (p. 155). In Erickson's study, the social situation included interactions between gang members in connection with the "institutional," or in this case, "larger hemispheric localism, nationalism, racial/ethnic consciousness, and gender identity" (p. 294).

In Zentella's seminal study (1997), she employed what she called anthropolitical linguistics to study the linguistic practices in which bilingual children engaged within a community called *el bloque.* Zentella explains how methodologically, anthropolitical linguistics analyses include the joining of "…qualitative ethnographic methods of linguistic anthropology with the quantitative methods of sociolinguistics…" (p. 13). That is, even before Bucholtz and Hall (2008) proposed a definition and the theoretical framework of sociocultural linguistics, Zentella was researching the ways that identity is constructed in and through talk, using methodology and theories from different approaches. Zentella's focus on language revolved around the macro political, social, and economic issues that members of *el bloque* faced during the late 1970s. This research informed the ways that identity is constructed in and through discourse because Zentella found that bilingual children not only used code switches for different purposes, such as 'on the spot', crutch-like, footing, and addressee's dominant language, but she also found

that their code switches indexed multiple identities, whether Puerto Rican/US American, Nuyorican, or black/white. Furthermore, Zentella described how life on *el bloque* facilitated children's identification with multiple codes and multiple identities in ways that gave real meaning to the term "multicultural children" (p. 39). She showed that the children on *el bloque* communicated with individuals in a monolingual English basis, a monolingual Spanish basis, or a mix of both, including such varieties as Puerto Rican Spanish/English and African American Vernacular English.

In Toribio's (2000) article about language variation between national and immigrant Dominicans, she utilized a sociolinguistic lens with formal linguistics in order to examine the ways in which individuals use language to enact identity. Toribio's research, similar to other research that draws on different, yet, complimentary approaches, falls within the sociocultural linguistic framework since she investigated "the extent to which social identity may be mediated via linguistic constructs" (p. 1133). She found that speakers of varieties of Dominican Spanish maintained a level of covert prestige that served to signal ethnic group solidarity in speech communities, both nationally and within immigrant communities in the U.S. This research highlighted the ways in which identity is constructed in and through talk, because it distinguished linguistic markers of Dominican speech communities and also described the ways in which the use of these markers served to connect members to "their social and emotional ties with their homeland" (p. 1143). Participants in this study remained loyal to their Dominican vernacular despite openly acknowledging that Dominican Spanish with its many varieties, including regional dialects, is considered low prestige Spanish by

Dominicans and others in both the U.S. and parts of the Dominican Republic. Not only did the study find that social context is pertinent to Dominicans and their use of regional varieties, but it also found that the use of vernacular speech norms in Dominican Spanish is important in displaying ethnic group membership and solidarity within New York enclaves, such as the Dominican communities in New York, and also outside of these contexts.

Each study discussed above included the examination of language, culture, and society and offered a new perspective on the ways in which linguistic construction of identity depends largely on social interaction. Furthermore, the studies included the use of different approaches, but identity construction and linguistic interaction remained the center of the research. The preceding body of literature serves as prime examples of research employing a sociocultural linguistic framework to make sense of the ways in which identities are constructed during linguistic interactions.

In my dissertation project, I drew from these studies in order to make sense of the identities that are constructed by and for students in bilingual classrooms. One way I did this was by examining a common theme arising from the research: specifically, the way in which context and linguistic interactions helped construct identity. I beared in mind the authors' caution against positioning language-minorities as if their bilingual skills elicit a deficit because, throughout the preceding studies, it is clear that being bilingual/multi-lingual/multi-dialectal means possessing a valuable resource that marks identities in different and positive ways.

This dissertation examined the ways in which heritage speakers of Spanish and English-dominant students negotiated the use of language; specifically, how they use Spanish, English, and a vernacular form of Spanish in a TWDL classroom. As indicated by Reyes and Vallone (2007), the opportunities for students to negotiate the use of language have implications in the potential ways in which they choose to engage with new identities and to develop positive cross-cultural attitudes and ethnic identities. The following section describes scholarly work focusing on identity development in TWDL settings and some of the issues related to language use.

Language-use and identity development in TWDL programs

Some of the pressing issues in identity development and language learning in TWDL settings include the strict separation of the instructional language, dominant discourses about "non-standard" languages, and the need to address inequitable relations of power. The following paragraphs describe recent studies of TWDL programs that address the issues listed above.

Lee, Hill-Bonnet and Gillispie (2008) revealed that the strict separation of languages in two kindergarten TWDL classrooms perpetuated the idea that individuals are either speakers of Spanish or English, but not of both. This idea of individuals as dual monolinguals limited students' use of their full linguistic repertoire. At the onset of the study, when the school year began, students were observed using Spanish and English interchangeably. As the school year progressed both teachers, the English and Spanish designated counterparts, set clear boundaries between the use of the 2 languages by

reminding and encouraging students to only use Spanish or English during their designated times. The teachers firm policy of keeping the languages separated worked so well that the students were surprised to learn that their "English" teacher was actually bilingual when they heard her respond to a Spanish dominant students use of Spanish during a lesson (which was not uncommon given that the student had recently moved to the U.S.). The authors found that although students engaged in translanguaging practices in the classroom, less and less, they still exerted their sense of agency and code switched during times like recess. Had the classroom teachers encouraged the use of both languages rather than enforced the strict separation of language students may have seen each other, including the teachers, as "bilingual" and not as dual monolinguals. The co-construction of a bilingual identity includes sanctioned spaces in the classroom where students can use both languages at their disposal.

Palmer's (2008) article examined the D/discourse patterns displayed by language-minority and language-majority students in TWDL contexts and also examined the implications of the kinds of identities that were constructed. She described how the TWDL classroom's integration of distinct groups of students posed challenges for one practitioner. In the teacher's attempt to manage classroom discussions, Palmer found that practitioners were also supporting the development of positive academic identities when they positioned students to have equal footing with one another. As others have also found in their research of language minorities, having equal, or nearly equal, footing in discourse practices, *or* the opportunities to engage in various kinds of linguistic interactions, has implications for language-minority students and the kinds of identities

that emerge (Bartlett, 2007; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Gutierrez, Bien, Selland, & Pierce, 2011; McCay & Wong, 1996; Mori, 2007; Palmer, 2009; Potowski, 2004; Sayer, 2012).

Fitts (2006) problematized the idea of language separation and language use by describing how one elementary school, Escuelita *Bilingüe* Pine Mountain, main goal of promoting *equality* described English language learning and Spanish language learning as essentially the same. Fitts argued that by normalizing the learning experience of simultaneous and sequential bilinguals the school risked the possibility of not fully understanding "the real social inequities that different groups of people in our society continue to face" (p. 356). Fitts study focused on two, fifth-grade TWDL teachers where one taught in Spanish and the other in English.

Drawing from Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) concepts of adequation, authentication, authorization, and illegitimation the article provided examples of how students' language-use reinforced certain identities. Adequation involves things individuals do to emphasize similarities to a particular social group. One way students in Fitts study did this was by segregating themselves in the lunchroom according to language affiliations such as, English-speaking or Spanish-speaking. Authentication refers to the way individuals express themselves to demonstrate that they are part of a particular ethnic group. In this study students were asked to self-identify by their "native" language therefore authenticating a certain group membership. Authorization and illegitimation refers to the institutional or ideological support for certain language practices. An example is how the No Child Left Behind Act (2002) made bilingual education obsolete

to the point that it was abolished in the state of Colorado where this study took place. As a result, it authorized what Fitts described as a "one-size-fits-all" approach to minoritized language communities.

Despite the teacher's strict language policy Fitts found that children were given the opportunity, though not ample, to draw from their linguistic repertoire. The students worked on a 5th grade theatre project where they wrote and produced stories and got to re-enact each others' scripts. It was during these re-enactments where students authenticated themselves as multilingual and multicultural, but also surprised teachers with their use of Spanish, English, and different registers. The theatre project opened up a protected space in in their TWDL classrooms where students could discuss sensitive issues like their ethnolinguistic expectations of what constitutes a Spanish, English, or a bilingual speaker of both. In summary, Fitts study explored the 3 highlighted issues I mentioned at the beginning of this section: the strict separation of the instructional language, dominant discourses about "non-standard" languages, and the need to address inequitable relations of power.

Potowski's (2007) research about language use and identity in a dual immersion school described 4 focal students use of Spanish in 5th grade and then again in 8th grade. Two of the students were considered L1 speakers of Spanish and the other 2 were considered L2 speakers of Spanish. Potowski found that the 5th grade focal students spoke Spanish 56% of the time during Spanish lessons and in 8th grade the percentage of time they spoke Spanish during Spanish lessons decreased to 40%. The lower percentage of Spanish versus English language use during the upper elementary grades was not

uncommon according to studies focusing on the use of the target language in dual language immersion settings (McCollum, 1999; Tarone & Swain, 1995; Tedick & Fortune, 2004a & 2004b).

What was significant in this study was the individual students' investment in Spanish or English seemed linked to the amount of output in the target language. Potowski concluded by providing practitioners with suggestions that encourage students to speak the target language, but specifically the minority language. Some of these suggestions include: creating content-based instruction that capitalizes both content and language learning, exposing students to how language is used by members of a speech community, and collaborative group work. The suggestions are intended to increase students' investments in speaking the target language, which in turn, will contribute to positive academic and bilingual identities.

Research in TWDL settings has recently formulated ideas of how to create interactional spaces where children in TWDL programs can draw from their full linguistic repertoire despite the designated language of instruction (DePalma, 2010; Fitts, 2006; Lee, Hill-Bonnet and Gillispie, 2008; Palmer, 2008; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Potowski, 2007). Practitioners in TWDL settings need to be aware of how they position language learning and encourage students' investment in the target language. By putting their awareness into practice teachers can help students co-construct positive academic and bilingual identities.

This study's theoretical framework is multi-layered. While Bucholtz and Hall's (2007) concept of the way identity is interactionally co-constructed through language

informed how I analyzed verbal exchanges between students; Holland, Cain, Lachicotte, and Skinner's (1998) concept of *figured worlds* was used to examine how different contexts, or classrooms, shaped how identities were interactionally co-constructed. Chapters five, six, and seven will describe in detail how different contexts, or figured worlds, played a vital role in the way emergent bilinguals co-constructed their and each others' identities. The following section includes a literature review of a language practice, code switching, that students engaged in as they progressed in the TWDL program.

CODE SWITCHING LITERATURE REVIEW

Code Switching

Within communities where languages come in contact one with the other, there are, as described by Gardner-Chloros (2009), three primary factors that contribute to the phenomena of code switching. These factors are either independent of the speaker and the particular circumstance; or they are directly related to the speakers, whether individually and as community members; or they are found within the conversation where CS takes place. Although I have categorized the factors that contribute to CS, it has been recognized that bilinguals code switch because they can (Lipski, 2008) and because, as revealed by Zentella (1997), CS simply represents a normal form of communicating between bilinguals.

Factors that are directly related to the speakers, individually and as community members, include social networks and identity. The co-construction of identity has been

broadly defined as, “the social positioning of self and other” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586). Researchers from various disciplines, including education, sociolinguistics, anthropology, and psychology, have focused on the ways in which bilinguals code switch in order to mark varying aspects of their identities (Bartlett & García, 2011; Martínez-Roldán, 2003; Norton Pierce, 1995; Reyes & Vallone, 2007; Sayer, 2012; Shenk, 2007; Zentella, 1997). In particular, Shenk’s (2007) study, examined identity construction and "authentic language" and found that Spanish speakers purposely sought out ways in which to prove their “authenticity” as "true" Spanish speakers. This was manifested in the way participants positioned each other in the course of a conversation, using Spanish and English.

Factors within the conversation of where CS takes place are considered resources from which individuals draw in order to meet conversational goals (Gardner-Chloros, 2009). A great deal of research has examined code switching as a linguistic resource in educational settings (Bartlett & García, 2011; Cummins, 2005; Gutierrez, Baquedano-Lopez, Alvarez, & Ming Chiu, 1999; Hornberger, 2003; Martínez, 2010; Martínez-Roldán & Sayer, 2006; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Sayer, 2012; Tamati, 2011, Valdes, 2005). For example, Zentella (1997) found that bilingual children drew on their linguistic resources, or repertoires, and, depending on several factors, switched between Spanish and English, including multiple varieties of each, such as African American Vernacular English or Puerto Rican Spanish. These factors might be the interlocutors’ knowledge of Spanish or English, whether or not they want to express an emotion, or are using it as a crutch. Zentella’s research also contributes to the developmental trends in the patterns of

switching, both in terms of form and function. The following section briefly describes developmental trends and acknowledges the potential for contributing to the functions CS serves in educational settings.

Developmental Trends in Code Switching

Before delving into the developmental trends in CS, it is useful to mention the ways in which academics have historically framed CS among bilinguals. Lance (1975) described CS as a "random" or “willy-nilly” way that bilingual individuals and communities speak because of the misconception that they have language deficits. Scholars have pointed out that it is not uncommon for "non-standard” languages, mostly spoken by linguistic-minorities, to be considered less than optimal by teachers, parents, and/or lay people in many aspects, notably grammatical, phonetic, and social (Lippi-Green, 1997). Fortunately, a great deal of scholarly work has contributed to our current understanding of code switching as "rule-governed" (Bullock & Toribio, 2009; Gumperz, 1982; Lipski, 2008; Ortega, 2005; Otheguy, 2011; Poplack, 1980; Toribio, 2001, 2002; Valdes, 2005; Zentella, 1997). Code switching has been defined in various ways as: “the ability on the part of bilinguals to alternate effortlessly between their two languages” (Bullock & Toribio, 2009, p. 1); "…switching between two languages within the same discourse involving the same individuals (Lipski, 2008, p.230); "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems” (Gumperz, 1982, p. 59); and, "the random alternation of two languages both between and within sentences" (Poplack, 1980, p. 581). As Ana Celia

Zentella (1997) said, "Code switching is, fundamentally, a conversational activity via which speakers negotiate meaning with each other, *like salsa dancers* responding smoothly to each other's intricate steps and turns" (p.113). Additional work has focused on the ways code switching serves functional purposes during linguistic interactions (Benjamin, 1996; Potowski, 2009; Reyes, 2004; Shin, 2010; Rubin & Toribio, 1996; Zentella, 1997). The following section will discuss developmental trends in the patterns of code switching.

Developmental trends in the patterns of switching with respect to form and function depend on contextual information. Several studies have identified patterns of code switching in relation to form and function, although they were dependent on the context at hand (Poplack, 1980; Potowski, 2009; Reyes, 2004; Toribio, 2002; Zentella, 1997). These studies found that, generally, there were ways in which a simultaneous bilingual CS varied from an early childhood bilingual CS. Bilinguals vary in their use of two or more languages according to their proficiency; that is, according to the amount of exposure they have had to both languages (Bartlett &García, 2011; García, 2009).

Scholarly work focused on the form of CS attests to two developmental trends in the patterns of CS: inter/intra sentential CS, and the lack of violation in regard to grammar among adult-like code switching. For example, Bullock and Toribio (2009), Lipski (2008), and Potowski (2009) have described how simultaneous bilinguals tend to CS intrasententially, whereas early childhood bilinguals CS intersententially. Intersentential CS includes lexical switches; for example, single word insertions and switching languages between sentences, both of which are more common among early

childhood bilinguals or language learners. Intrasentenial CS requires a more sophisticated linguistic competency in at least two languages (Lipski, 2008; Toribio, 2001). When bilinguals intrasententially CS, they maintain the grammatical structure of the two, or more, languages they are using. Poplack's (1980) seminal article stated that "code switching appears to be subject to an 'equivalence constraint' …in that it tends to occur at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements does not violate a surface syntactic rule of either language" (p. 581).

A great deal of research from various disciplines has examined the ways CS serves different functions for bilinguals (Benjamin, 1996; Potowski, 2009; Reyes, 2004; Shin, 2010; Toribio, 1996; Zentella, 1997). Developmental trends in the patterns of switching seem to depend on contextual information. For example, Zentella (1997) found that children growing up in a bilingual community code switched for numerous reasons, including, but not limited to, the following: addressee dominant language, setting, footing, clarification and/or emphasis, non-reciprocal conversations, and as a crutch. It should be noted that CS as a crutch was one of the least used functions.

In Potowski's (2009) study about the use of code switching by children in a two-way dual language setting, she found that code switches served the following functions: lexical gap, discourse marker, repair, repetition, translation, fixed vocabulary, and word focus. Potowski compared 5th grade simultaneous bilinguals with early childhood bilinguals who had been in a DLBE program since kindergarten. In her study, Potowski found that lexical gaps, discourse markers, and repetitions were used more often than the other functions. Instead of encouraging students to use all of their linguistic resources,

such as code switching and/or translating, to become bilingual Potowski seemed to position language learners in deficit ways. For example, Potowski described the use of CS in the classroom as a way for L2 students and HLLs with language attrition in Spanish to strictly learn or, in her words, “move a lesson forward” (p. 33). It is unfortunate that Potowski does not also describe how the use of CS for rich purposes, such as positive ethnic identity development, could very well influence the ways in which children choose to interact and develop as bilinguals (Palmer, 2009; Perez; 2004).

The context of the two studies mentioned above varies. In the first study, (Zentella, 1997) data was collected in the students’ home community of *el bloque,* whereas in the second study (Potowski, 2009), data was collected in a TWDL classroom with a strict language policy. Students were expected to only speak in Spanish or only speak in English. Code switching in language contact situations, whether in a classroom or in an actual community, is bound to emerge as a practice that bilingual individuals engage in to communicate. In fact, the kind of CS that "in-group" members will use is not easily elicited (Poplack, 1980). Considering this, scholars have asked: why not explore strategies that support a very natural speaking phenomena that occurs in language contact situations, rather than limit the way in which HLLs code switch in an educational setting, like the DLBE classroom (Palmer & Martínez, 2013)?

Another developmental trend in the patterns of switching confirmed by scholars, in respect to form and function, includes what is called “bilingual competence” (Cummins, 2005; Firth & Wagner, 2007; Gumperz, 2005; Norton Pierce, 1995; Toribio, 2001). Bilingual competence involves the innate ability to distinguish, with regard to CS,

whether or not sentences, uttered or written, are as syntactically comprehensible to the early childhood bilingual as they are to a simultaneous bilingual (Toribio, 2001; Firth & Wagner, 2007). For example, if presented with an intrasentential CS, whether written or verbalized, would both the early childhood bilingual and the simultaneous bilingual be able to confirm that it is, or is not, syntactically comprehensible? Research has explored whether or not this "innate" ability to distinguish syntactically comprehensible forms of CS can also be used in "authentic" ways as a skill that the early childhood bilingual can acquire; or, whether or not this "innate" ability remains a level of competence reserved for simultaneous bilinguals. This topic continues to fuel a growing and interesting body of research among academics.

THE STUDY

This research focused on identity constructions related to the social functions used to CS among bilinguals rather than on the grammar or form of CS. Dual language bilingual education models are designed to create a form of diglossia where languages are compartmentalized. The DLBE model, which is designed to maintain and/or develop the language of heritage speakers, alongside students learning Spanish as a second language, can actually be socially imposing or even inhibit the way in which bilinguals naturally use their two languages (Valdes, 2011). For instance, in Lipski's (2008) study, he describes how simultaneous bilinguals code switch more readily and profusely than students who are learning Spanish as a second language. Students who are learning Spanish as a second language, or who have less exposure to the second language than

simultaneous bilinguals, are more likely to engage in language mixing than code switching. Lipski (2008) distinguished code switching as a phenomenon that bilinguals engage in depending on their exposure to two or more languages. He described three contact-induced practices bilinguals engage in: the borrowing of words; the 'transfer of translated idiomatic expressions, or calques, as well as tilting word order patterns in fashion, in order to make patterns in both languages more convergent; and, code switching. While language contact is a determining characteristic of where and why language mixing and code switching occurs, there are several factors that contribute to the production of language mixing and/or code switching. It is worth noting that researchers have found that the language mixing produced by a "…bilingual child does not demonstrate a 'wild' grammar, but a transitional competence in which functional structure may be present but remained unspecified for functional features" (Toribio, 2001, p. 217). That is to say, the reasons why an early childhood bilingual mixes languages are different than the reasons why a simultaneous bilingual mixes languages. With increased competence, however, they both have the potential to express prolific and adult-like code switches. That being said, code switching has been described as a practice reserved for individuals who, repeatedly identify themselves as fluent bilinguals and who come from bicultural backgrounds (Lipski, 2008; Toribio, 2002; Zentella, 1997). The fluent bilingual will engage in language mixing, but more likely will use CS between the two languages for different intentions, motives, and goals. This research contributed to the ongoing dialogue concerning the ways in which code switching serves HLL students as a linguistic resource, which they bring to the DLBE classroom. This study highlights

how both linguistic interaction and use play a critical role in the ways in which students in bilingual contexts interact to co-construct their own and each other's identity.

Summary of Chapter

In conclusion, this chapter examined how sociocultural linguistics is an appropriate theoretical framework to explore how children position themselves and each other, via linguistic interactions, in the context of the dual language classroom. First, it was useful to note the constructivist perspective this study draws from and how it relates to sociocultural linguistics to show how linguistic interaction constructs meaning. This chapter honed in on one of five principles of sociocultural linguistics: the partialness principle. The partialness principle upholds that the co-construction of identity is both "in part intentional and deliberate." That is, it contains a certain degree of habit and individuals not being fully conscience of how they, in turn, co-construct their and others' identity. This chapter provided a literature review of how scholars whose work focus on the interactional co-construction of identity relates to the partialness principle. Each article reviewed included an examination of language, culture, and society and how identity construction relies on social interaction. Lastly, developmental trends in code switching were examined in order to provide the reader insight into the ways early-childhood and simultaneous bilinguals vary in their use of two languages.

The review of this literature provides the foundation for the questions that my research sought to ask and the necessary insights for a rich analysis.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Methods

This dissertation is a longitudinal, qualitative, multiple case study that drew from ethnographic methods (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). Merriam (2001) described case studies as "bounded systems" where each case is a "thing, a single entity, a unit around which there is boundaries" (p. 27). In each case study, I focused on the Spanish and English linguistic exchanges children verbalized. That is to say, selection of the classrooms for this study depended heavily on how the classroom teacher supported and encouraged the use of Spanish, which, much to my benefit, also included the focal children who represented a range of linguistic backgrounds. Each year, Spanish and/or English utterances became my unit of analysis; therefore, what "bounded" each case study was the students. Since the linguistic exchange or utterance is the unit of analysis, the actual context in which it occurred is closely examined.

My analyses stem from both a descriptive and heuristic approach (Merriam, 2001). This research, consequently, provides a rich description of the ways in which linguistic exchanges co-construct students' identities as they are studied over the course of four years in TWDL classrooms. My research is also heuristic in that it seeks to understand what it means when a culturally and linguistically diverse group of students come together to become bilinguals in a program that values bilingualism.

I followed the same cohort of students for six weeks each year over the course of 4 years. Each year in the program provided a different context. In each context, there was a different teacher, a few new students, a different class schedule, different pedagogical

approaches, and different ways in which students were asked and expected to interact. The classrooms in this study are understood to be places that have the potential to support the development of a positive identity for HLLs. The classroom context, in turn, becomes a critical place where children develop their cognitive, academic, and linguistic skills (Valdes, 1997). In this study, therefore, I explored the co-construction of identity between emerging bilinguals in a TWDL context.

Researcher Positionality

My interest in examining the co-construction of identity in a dual language setting originated from my six years as a bilingual educator in public schools. My interest was also rooted in my ethnic and linguistic background. Both my parents are what Portes and Rumbault (2001) refer to as first generation immigrants. They immigrated with their parents to the U.S. in the late 60s. At the time, my mother was 13-years-old and my father was 15-years-old. In 1966, through the bracero workers program (Martin & Teitelbaum, 2001), my paternal grandfather brought his family from Reynosa, Tamaulipas to the Rio Grande Valley. My maternal grandmother made her way from Guadalajara to northern México and then traveled, undocumented, between the U.S. and Matamoros, Tamaulipas for many years. Eventually, in 1968, she arranged a marriage with a U.S. citizen in order to "legally" bring her four children to the U.S. and, as she would put it, to work *con papeles* (documented).

Throughout my upbringing, both my parents shared with us stories about the inequities they experienced in middle school and high school; inequities that arose simply

because they did not speak English. They resented being asked to only speak English at school, even by fellow *mexicanos*/Mexicans. The further I delved into my doctoral study, the stronger the experiences of my parents resonated within me; specifically, their feeling of not belonging here, on U.S. soil, and their complete awareness that their *home*, in México, was no longer a part of their everyday lives. I recall one winter break in particular when I was sharing with my mom the identity work I was doing with 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrant students in a TWDL classroom. She then shared the following story: "When I first moved to the United States, I would have the same dream over and over again. I dreamt that I was an eagle flying over *mi tierra.* I would fly over my country, my city, where I grew up, and I would say: *Esta es la tierra que yo conozco. Yo conozco está tierra. Es mi tierra/* This is the country, the land, and the soil that I know. For many years I had this dream." I believe that in many ways, she still feels the same about her identity as a Mexican immigrant living in the U.S. It is a sentiment she has certainly passed on to me.

Though my parents spoke to each other and to my two sisters and me mostly in Spanish, they never asked us to speak Spanish. In fact, until 1994 when I moved from California to Texas, I was primarily what Ofelia García (2009) and other scholars refer to as a "receptive bilingual." I did, however, always code switch. For example, when I transferred to UT in 1996, I tested out of the first 4 levels of Spanish courses through what was then called the College Level Examination Program (CLEP). I remember making my choices for the correct answer by whispering the various responses and then selecting the one that "sounded right."

Over the years, I became more comfortable with speaking Spanish. Today in fact, in most, if not all, of my conversations with other bilinguals, who are intimate friends, it is not uncommon to hear me mixing Spanish and English in prolific ways. It is because of the aforementioned experiences that I am personally invested in contributing to the ongoing conversation about the education of 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrant students in dual language settings. I believe dual language programs should help students develop as bilinguals because I believe speaking Spanish is closely tied to culture and identity development (Cummins, 2000; Gonzales, 2005; Nieto, 2002; Reyes & Vallone, 2007). Scholars have found that when students' ethnic and bilingual identities are validated, these students are more likely to succeed in academic settings (García, 2011; Martínez, 2010; Paris, 2009; Zentella, 1997). It is, therefore, pertinent that we continue to examine settings like the TWDL classroom where many immigrant children serve as the Spanish-speaking models (Lindholm-Leary, 2005; Thomas & Collier, 2002). Even though I was born in the U.S., like many of our Spanish-speaking students, the immigrant experiences of my parents and grandparents strongly resonate with me, as I believe they do for many of our immigrant students. As I collected data for this dissertation, I saw that the children who I have encountered and with whom I have thus far developed relationships are a testament to this belief.

As a bilingual educator and graduate student researcher, I entered the field in 2010 with biases. For example, I was trained at the Center for Applied Linguistics in dual language methods as part of a group of teachers who were implementing a pilot dual language program in Kansas City, Missouri. When I entered the site, I was a firm believer

in maintaining a single language of instruction and I believed this to be a good practice. In 2010, however, after completing 1-½ years of graduate work, I began to explore the ways in which the use of language, in this case Spanish and English, unfolds in language contact contexts, such as the dual language classroom.

It should be noted that I, as an 'ethnic researcher' (Zentella, 1997), who identifies as someone with an immigrant background and who grew up speaking and hearing two languages, by my very presence may have more readily elicited code switching utterances by and between the students. That being said, my analysis and findings will be influenced by both my personal and academic experiences. I have made attempts to deconstruct any biases by constantly reading scholarly work related to my dissertation, by communicating with other graduate students of similar interests, and by applying the critical skills I have learned after more than 5 years of graduate course work. It is my goal to contribute to the ongoing conversation about 50/50 TWDL program models where language-minority and language-majority students come together to become bilinguals and to co-construct their own and each other's identities. The following section describes the delimitations of this study.

DELIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

Due to the way the study began and the vagaries of longitudinal research in a high-transience population, I do not have consistent data or data on the same students each year. However, I tried to mitigate this by throwing a broad net of the students I chose to follow at first. And, due to circumstances inherent in the very inequities I was

studying, I do not have much data at all from the fourth year of Elizabeth's education. These unique characteristics of the study might limit my findings, but overall there is still adequate evidence to provoke many conclusions and lead to many more questions for future research.

I chose to start collecting data in the kindergarten classroom in 2010 because this is where the demographic changes were most evident. Initially, what began as a six-week case study of a kindergarten classroom evolved to an additional year of data collection for another six weeks in the first grade classroom. At the end of data collection in the first grade classroom I decided to continue following this intriguing group of students to second grade. Part of the reason I chose to observe during Spanish Language Arts each year was to maintain some sort of consistency in the data, but also because that was where the use of Spanish was sanctioned and where I observed the most use of Spanish. Therefore, to maintain consistency in terms of the kind of data collected, I chose to limit my data collection each consecutive year to 6-8 weeks. The delimitation to doing this was that I did not observe students in other content areas or in other non-academic spaces such as the playground, the cafeteria, or in their home communities. Observing focal students in other contexts would have elicited varying kinds of linguistic repertoires (Zentella, 1997). Similar studies should consider including those contexts when researching the TWDL classroom.

As a case study this dissertation focused on one group of students in one school in a single school district. The language practices observed in this study are representative of the geographical influence, Central Texas, has on the use of Spanish and English.

Other cities across the U.S., or the world even, with different language varieties could very well elicit different ways of communicating in a target language. These factors, which influence language use, include language ideologies, attitudes, and language policy all depend on the context.

This research project was about language practices and the co-construction of identity. Areas of contention that this project did not address include the concept of language ideologies in relation to identity construction. When students entered the TWDL program after kindergarten they expressed deficit views about learning a minority language like Spanish. In addition, how the classroom teacher(s) positioned language learning in second grade seemed to support or encourage students' negative attitudes toward certain bilinguals in the classroom (Abdi, 2011). Students' attitudes toward learning Spanish were seen as a lack of trying on their part. At the same time, during the times I observed, students were penalized for not knowing how to write a vocabulary word in Spanish (Field Notes, 3/4/13). These beliefs or ideologies reference a cultural perspective and contribute to hegemonic discourses about minority languages (Showstack, 2012). The following sections describe the methodology and methods I used to collect and to examine data.

METHODOLOGY

According to Erickson (2004), the study of "talk and general societal processes" draws on different traditions; for example, interactional sociolinguistics (IS) and ethnography of communication (EC). From an anthropological orientation, the

ethnography of communication emerged (Cameron, 2001; Gumperz & Hymes, 1986). This functional approach to discourse analysis (DA) considers language as intricately tied to social and cultural practices that are found in both local and global communities (Erickson, 2004; Schiffrin, 1994). Specifically, this method includes a long-term role of the researcher as a participant-observer; hence, ethnography (Cameron, 2001). Interactional sociolinguistics draws on the field of sociolinguistics and anthropology to examine what interlocutors "intend to convey in everyday communicative practice" (Gumperz, 2001). Both ethnography of communication and interactional sociolinguistics relate to the work I have conducted in a TWDL context.

My dissertation project is ethnographic because I collected data as a participant-observer for the past 4 years, and I focused on the same cohort of students. Ethnography of communication is a strong fit for this project because the analysis involves narrowing the focus to the linguistic practices students have developed as emerging bilinguals in a very specific speech community: the TWDL classroom community. Discourse, in my work, is a social practice or action, and it serves as a representation of the ways in which students do, or do not, identify as bilinguals. Since my observations included students completing an academic task, whether bilingual learning centers, process drama, or language arts group work, I highlighted a specific unit located within the TWDL context: the speech event. The speech event, for example bilingual learning centers, included the examination of the linguistic practices that students engaged in during the completion of an academic task. Within that unit of analysis, I explored the many ways in which students used Spanish and English, such as code switching and translating, as another

unit--the speech act--embedded within a speech event, such as process drama or language arts group work. Ethnography of communication can also be used to describe how macro societal issues can infiltrate into micro settings like the TWDL classroom (Erickson, 2004). Although my observations have taken place solely on one school campus and its classrooms, I have included a panoramic and detailed view of how this community, which included parents, teachers, students, and administrators, and the cohort of students, has evolved based on the community members' experiences with the TWDL program.

I drew on interactional sociolinguistics to examine the ways in which the 6 main focal students' linguistic interactions, in Spanish and English, developed over the course of 4 years as a result of participating in a TWDL program. As members of a TWDL classroom, students were expected to engage in language practices involving the use of Spanish or English; specifically, "…language and context constitute one another: language contextualizes and is contextualized" (Schiffrin, 1994, p. 369). Lastly, this method served as a way to identify how language-use functioned in the context of learning and/or maintaining the development of multiple languages. For instance, Cameron (2001) described a technique used by interactional sociolinguists, the elicitation of judgments on the meaning of function in particular ways of talking in order to "identify systematic differences in the discourse strategies used by members of two or more groups" (p. 117). The focal students in my study came from English-speaking, Spanish-speaking, or bilingual homes; therefore, as research has shown (Benjamin, 1996; Potowski, 2009; Reyes, 2004; Shin, 2010; Toribio, 1996; Zentella, 1997), each group may use different functions, such as code switching, in order to meet the linguistic

expectations required in the TWDL context. A discussion about the methods used to collect data for this study is needed before delving into what discourse analysis is and how language as practice is framed in this study.

METHODS

Data Collection

During the period from August 10, 2010 through December 17, 2013, I visited Hillside Elementary, a pseudonym, for a total of 28 weeks. I had not initially planned on following a cohort of students. It was between the second and third years of data collection that I began to realize the potential that a longitudinal study might have. However, as the study evolved, it became clear that the ways in which students are positioned by their teacher, year after year, could play a crucial role in the identities they would develop while participating in the TWDL program. It is because this realization did not occur until half through data collection that there are some inconsistencies in my data collection. For example, as will be later described in fuller detail, the interviews I conducted varied each year. In my kindergarten data, which is the 1st year of data collection, I interviewed the classroom teacher and one parent. In my 1st grade data, which is the 2nd year of data collection, I only interviewed the classroom teacher. In my 2nd grade data, which is the 3rd year of data collection, I interviewed the classroom teacher and 10 students. In my 3rd grade data, which is my last year of data collection, I interviewed the classroom teacher and four of the focal students' parents. For the first two years I merely collected data under the umbrella of the larger study; consequently, a

different research question was proposed each year of the study. It was not until the end of the second year, that I chose to conduct a longitudinal study on the same cohort of students; therefore, the first and second years of data collection were for different purposes. Additionally, as in any longitudinal study, inconsistencies are due to other factors, such as student mobility and retention. These factors will be explored in my overall analyses of the data. In light of the above, this dissertation highlights one classroom case, one child case, with a separate chapter to examine each against a backdrop of the other three focal classrooms and other eight focal children. As suggested in Chapter 1, under my heading "What is bilingual education and bilingualism?" I will discuss a dynamic bilingual model and what learning in two languages was like in one first grade TWDL classroom. The other three years of my research served as case studies that have helped me understand how children's identities evolve over time and how different teaching styles navigated a TWDL program. The teachers had to consider their own beliefs and language practices while exploring contrasting approaches to teaching within a commercialized language program.

As an participant-observer, I collected data over the course of four years. This consisted of video and audio recordings, field notes, and informal and formal interviews. In addition to the inconsistencies I reference above, there is also an inconsistency in the content area in which I observed students. Most of the data collected took place during the language arts block because this was when the minority language was most elicited by teachers and between students. Due to a change in schedule or time constraints, there were days when, I observed a science or a social studies lesson instead of a language arts

lesson. Despite these inconsistencies, the entire set of data provides me with adequate resources, gathered from observing five focal students over the course of 4 years, in which to answer the following research questions:

1. What role do teachers play in the interactional co-construction of emerging bilinguals' identities within a 50/50 TWDL program?
2. What role do students play in interactionally co-constructing their own and each other's identities within a 50/50 TWDL program?
3. How are the identities of heritage language learners interactionally co-constructed over the course of four years (K- 3rd grade) within a 50/50 TWDL program?

In the sections to follow, I will describe discourse, describe the kind of discourse data collected for the study, define discourse analysis, and delve into the ways in which the data has been analyzed.

WHAT IS DISCOURSE?

Discourse can be both a local and global practice (Bourdieu, 1977; Gee, 2005; Erickson, 2004). One way to discuss the way in which the local and global practice of talk connects is by seeing "…the local conduct of talk – and the social situation of interlocutors – [as] also profoundly influenced by processes that are non-local – figuratively and in some aspects literally 'global' in their reach across spans of social time and space" (p. 107). Gee (2005) describes discourse as being influenced by global issues, **D**iscourse, and including, **d**iscourse elements that characterize that communication is occurring between two or more individuals. From that perspective, we

can describe discourse as being influenced by macro (D)iscourses (or global) such as those imposed by social institutions (Bourdieu, 1977). Conversely, (d)iscourse is the simple act of communicating between individuals in everyday life (Erickson, 2004). This study incorporated the idea of global by coding for societal themes, such as deficit ideologies toward vernacular language practices. This is an approach that merges ethnography of communication and sociolinguistics because it considers how social and cultural practices found in both global and local communities are used to examine what interlocutors intend to convey in their everyday linguistic interactions. The following section describes the way language, essential for D/discourse interactions, is framed in this study.

Language and Translanguaging

The idea of what constitutes a language has been an issue of contention in and outside of academia. Language has been described as a bounded system of signs that can be described according to structure and function (De Saussure, 2011; Chomsky, 2006). Language has also been described as the way individuals bring meaning to their world as a "simultaneous process of continuous becoming of ourselves" (García & Lei, 2014, p. 8). Language plays a critical role in the co-construction of our and others' identities. The way languages change is also a result of its intersubjective social construction and why we can describe what we do as "languaging." In order to capture the nuanced attributes of what bi/multilinguals do with language scholars have proposed the following term, translanguaging. A translanguaging approach to describe how bilinguals' use their two

(or more) idioms centers on the speaker and their interactions and less on the language in isolation. This dynamic view of languaging allows us to consider how the context, the interlocutors, and the language(s) used are constantly changing, yet, constructing a part of who we are at any given moment.

Language as a Practice

Pennycook's work (2010) on the concept of language as *practice* draws from different perspectives and domains to explore language as an activity; specifically he draws from practice theory (Schatzki, 1996) to language ecology (Haugen, 1972; Hornberger, 2003). Pennycook frames the notion of *language as a local practice* as something people do within a certain locality where space, location, and context are all mediating elements that shape how individuals *do* language. In contrast, Hymes (1963) stressed that while it is important to acknowledge the contributions classical linguists have made to our understanding about language as structure, he urged scholars to consider how in the speech event there exists functions and factors that contribute to the linguistic interaction. Specific functions and factors that act as markers to a groups' (or individuals) identity, but most importantly, they add to our understanding about the way language works. Ofelia and Wei (2014) describe translanguaging as:

> having the capacity to broaden the scope of contemporary Linguistics, to look at linguistic realities of the world today and how human beings use their linguistic knowledge holistically to function as language users and social actors. (p. 32)

Thus, the everyday language practices of bilingual Latino children such as translating (Orellana, 2009; Valdes, 2002) and Spanish-English code switching (Martínez, 2010; Zentella, 1997) serve as resources to better understand their own and each other's co-construction of meaning in the classroom. This research contributes to scholarly work that seeks to normalize how children *do being bilingual* (Auer, 1984).

From here, I explore discourse analysis methods or approaches, beginning with a description of what discourse analysis is and how it has been defined differently within various disciplines.

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

If there is one area of consensus among interdisciplinary fields in regard to "what is discourse analysis," it is the recognition of the great variation in the ways in which discourse is analyzed and is defined across and within disciplines. For instance, in relation to the ways we try to categorize, Jaworski & Coupland (1999) state that: "…discourse analysts and the analyses they produce do not fall quite so neatly…" (p. 6). For the purposes of providing a clearer distinction between the ways in which discourse analysis has been approached and used, I will narrow my focus to what others have referred to as structural and/or functional elements of interaction (Cameron, 2001; Johnstone, 200; Schiffrin, 1994). Johnstone (2008) described discourse analysis as "…examining aspects of the structure and function of language in use" (p. 4). Cameron (2001) further described how discourse analysis could also be a way to study the structure of language, as in linguistics, or the intersection of language and society, as in linguistic

anthropology. Some researchers, such as psychologists, may be interested in issues related to mind and development, while others, like Erickson (2004) and myself, are interested in ethnographic microanalysis of language-use from the perspective of anthropology. A sociocultural approach considers language-use as a pertinent part of the co-construction of meaning. That is, language in this study was less a set of structures and rules and more a set of practices that occurred within communities. A broader definition provided by Johnstone (2008) described discourse analysis as "what [researchers] do with data, and how they do it, or both" (p. 3).

The kindergarten and first grade years included video and audio recordings of small group student-student and student-teacher interactions. The second and third grade years included video and audio recordings of student and teacher interviews and whole-group lessons. Erickson's type-one method, which involved a microanalysis of language, was used to closely analyze selected transcripts of the kindergarten and first grade years because participants delved deeply into sensitive topics. Whereas Erickson's method included a second to second analysis of language and body use between interlocutors; this sort of detailed analysis was not an ideal fit for whole-group lessons in 2nd and 3rd grade where the topic of conversation was limited to characteristics of a poem, for example. Therefore, a thematic analysis of all the data was used in order to select segments worthy of close discourse analysis. The selected transcripts worthy of close discourse analysis were coded according to language used, turns of talk, and topic being discussed. The following sections provide examples of the approaches I have used, such

as the constant comparative method and Erickson's type-one, to analyze the data collected.

Discourse Data

The data for this research primarily consisted of oral discourse in the form of video and audio recordings. Although I have 25-recorded interviews from teachers, parents, administrators, and students, the utterances made by children during classroom interactions, whether bilingual learning centers, process drama, whole-group lessons, or small group work, comprise the majority of my data and are the focus of this research. Both the student-student interactions and student-teacher interactions were coded using discourse analysis methods. The interviews served primarily to enhance my contextual understandings, to member-check and confirm/deny hunches, and to triangulate my findings. Interviews consisted of four classroom teachers, who I interviewed while conducting research in each of their classrooms in each subsequent year. That is to say, the kindergarten teacher was interviewed while I was collecting data in her classroom during the fall of 2010, the first grade teacher was interviewed while I was collecting data in her classroom during the fall of 2011, the second grade teacher was interviewed when I was collected data in her classroom during the spring of 2013, and the third grade teacher was interviewed when I was collecting data in her classroom during the fall of 2013. In addition, I have the following: one parent interview that was conducted during the fall of 2010; four parent interviews that were conducted during the spring of 2014; two administrator interviews that were conducted during the spring of 2014; and one office

staff interview, that was conducted during the spring of 2014. Lastly, there are ten student interviews that were conducted during the spring of 2013 when the students were in 2nd grade.

Although the interviews were used to confirm, deny, or support claims made or patterns explored in the data, a researcher nevertheless should be "able to uncover the many ways in which texts are shaped by contexts and the many ways in which texts shape contexts" (Johnstone, 2008, p. 21). Namely, the use of large sections of selected data to help answer research questions in empirical research, whether qualitative or quantitative, should be carefully analyzed in respect to the original context in which it was extracted. Interviews allowed me to more thoroughly contextualize the interactional data. To that end, the data analysis included a variety of methods, which are described below.

Data Analysis

One of the many challenges in conducting a longitudinal, qualitative multiple case study research project included the way in which data collection and analysis was an ongoing endeavor. In addition to discourse analysis methods, I also used various kinds of data analysis techniques or procedures to examine the data. In fact, analysis for this project began immediately while I was collecting data over these past four years. This was how I had an idea of what kind of data to collect each subsequent year. It would have been unwise to wait four years to start the analysis process; therefore, I included various techniques along the way like memos, diagrams, and reflection journals, which served

not only to begin the analysis process but also to guide my subsequent data collection to ensure I would be able to adequately answer research questions. Moreover, as expected in a longitudinal study, my corpus of data is rather large. All in all, I have a total of 166 events and 37 hours of recorded data. In the paragraphs to follow, I describe the ethnographic approaches used, the coding for thematic analysis, and the constant comparative method to conduct an ongoing analysis.

Merriam (2001) defined coding as "nothing more than assigning some sort of short-hand designation to various aspects of your data so that you can easily retrieve specific pieces of the data" (p. 164). One way I managed the large corpus of data was by coding it for different purposes. Since I am interested in students' linguistic exchanges in Spanish and English to co-construct identity, one of the first steps in my coding included labeling transcripts according to the kinds of code switches uttered. For example, I identified whether or not the code switch went from Spanish to English or vice versa, and whether or not it seemed to be fulfilling a particular CS function. Coding was also used to derive and develop concepts from the data (Corbin & Strauss, 2008). For example, after noticing a pattern emerge in the ways in which students positioned each other through their use of Spanish and/or English during the first year of data collection, I would code selected transcripts for words, sentences, phrases, or behavior that indicated how a student was positioned or how a student repositioned himself or herself. The multiple methods used to confirm emerging findings will be discussed in the subsequent sections.

Part of analysis also includes what Merriam (2001) and others (Corbin & Strauss, 2008) refer to as the constant comparative method of data analysis, which involves

"comparing one segment of data with another to determine similarities and differences" (p. 18). In my ongoing analysis I would write analytic memos to help keep track of how the concepts or theories that emerged from the data related to one another. These memos and segments of my data, such as transcripts, also helped confirm whether or not certain patterns kept emerging, such as the different ways in which students positioned one another. This process was ongoing, and it was repeated several times to verify that what was being observed made sense. Coding and an ongoing analysis of my data early on were crucial in developing the concept of identity construction in a dual language classroom.

I referenced several academic resources (Behar, 1996; Merriman, 2001; Kamler & Thompson, 2006; Seidman, 2012; Single, 2010) as guidance throughout the dissertation writing process. Since I collected 24 weeks of data over the course of four years, I implemented an organized system to manage the video and audio recordings. First, the data has been saved in multiple places: it is saved on two external hard drives, both of which are locked in my office; and, it is saved on my personal laptop. I also have designated backup files located in different locations, which are labeled with the appropriate school's pseudonym and relevant semester and year. For example, Hillside Elementary becomes Hillside Semester Year or Hillside. In each file, organized according to the year created, I have field notes, transcribed interviews, transcribed conversations, and analytic memos. In addition to an electronic folder, I also have a binder with different tabs to organize the same data and papers listed above and in the same chronological order.

One way I managed the corpus was by analyzing it in phases. For example, the kindergarten data served as phase one, the first grade data served as phase two, the second grade data served as phase three, and the third grade data served as phase four. All were analyzed through the process of coding (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Merriam, 2001) and by using the constant comparative method (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Merriam, 2001) before deciding which parts of the video data to transcribe. As I began watching the videos, I took on the role of observer. The first viewing refreshed my memory. As I watched, I continued to make notes in my reflection journal. During the second viewing, I referenced field notes and added additional notes as I watched the video(s). I designed a template that included writing an analytic memo at the end of writing field notes. I employed all of the following to help me decide which segments would be subject to Erickson's approach to video analysis: new field notes, or post data collection; old fields, which are those created during the years I was collecting data; and analytic memos.

I drew from a large corpus of audio recordings and video data that consisted of content area instruction, such as language arts and small group work, time spent at bilingual centers, and process drama. I used Erickson's (2004) type I whole-to-part or inductive approach to select representative discourse samples each year that related directly to research questions. Erickson's (2004) approach includes six steps toward examining a small part of the data. After going through the six steps, I selected and transcribed three key segments of video recordings of classroom interaction. These were then analyzed in three phases. My focus was on the diverse linguistic resources that students brought to the classroom because the resources could be representative of the

speech communities the students belonged to outside the classroom walls (Gutierrez, K., Bien, A., Selland, M., & Pierce, D., 2011; Martínez, 2010; Zentella, 1997). Based on Erickson (2004), I first took observer field notes during numerous viewings, noting any verbal and/or nonverbal phenomena and also noting the time *in seconds* of major transitions. Secondly, using a timeline with seconds and minutes in the course of numerous viewings, I noted any major topics, the speaking and listening activities, and the contrasting intensity of listening behavior by listeners. Next, I coded the transcripts based on when students spoke in Spanish and/or English. Finally, I coded the students' use of Spanish and/or English as per the social function the code switch seemed to fill. This was the process I followed with each subsequent year's data: first general qualitative inductive coding drawing on the constant-comparative method, followed by close discourse analysis using Erickson's Type I inductive method. This ongoing analysis helped me create a full data set, and in turn, allowed me to examine in detail the verbal interactions between children.

Internal Validity

According to Merriam (2001), triangulation involves "using multiple investigators, multiple sources of data, or multiple methods to confirm the emerging findings." (p. 204). During the fall of 2010, which was the first year of the study, I was part of a dual language research team that met regularly to discuss our individual projects, the data each of us was collecting, the emerging themes, and the theory most relevant to our individual research. Additionally, during the first year, I was part of a

book study group where we discussed the way in which identity theory did or did not apply with regard to our emerging findings. During the fall of 2011, which was the second year of the data collection, I was part of another research team that explored process drama (Rothwell, 2011) in a TWDL setting. We would meet to discuss our findings in relation to the ways in which process drama was being implemented in our designated research classrooms. It was during this year that we presented at three conferences: the International Reading Association, 2013; the Literacy Research Association, 2012; and, the National Association of Bilingual Education, 2012 (Roser, Palmer, Martínez, Greeter, Wooten, 2015; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014; Mateus, Palmer, Roser, & Henderson, *unpublished*).

During the spring of 2013, which was the third year of the data collection, I met throughout the semester with my adviser to discuss the data being collecting and the emerging themes. During the fall of 2013 and spring of 2014, which encompassed the last year of data collection, I met with another researcher to discuss emerging findings and to debrief our observations. The researcher, a fellow graduate student, was collecting additional data on two of my focal students, both of whom had been retained in second grade. Lastly, as I was analyzing data and writing the dissertation, I met regularly with my adviser and with other graduate students to discuss issues, ideas, and/or ways in which to explore and to discuss my findings.

Multiple data sources helped triangulate findings and increase internal validity. In addition to video and audio recordings as sources of data, I also created observer field notes. These dated notes, both handwritten and typed, are in a moleskin journal.

Additional data sources throughout the study included audio recorded interviews of students, parents, teachers, two administrators, and one member of the office staff.

It should be noted that an issue of contention throughout the entire analysis of data and writing of the dissertation was the use of "labels" to discuss emergent bilinguals in the TWDL context. The labels I chose to use to talk about specific children were problematized throughout the development of this dissertation. Although labels are necessary, they can also be problematic; especially for children who don't have the "voice" or agency at a young age, such as 5 to 8 years old, to state how they would categorize themselves. As much as possible, I use labels to help me frame and reflect on my work in productive ways. I continued triangulating my data and patterns that seemed to be emerging.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS STUDY

The manifestation of identity development in TWDL settings is important because of the ongoing state of affairs for speakers of minoritized languages residing in the U.S. In the last twenty years, for example, we have seen bilingual services terminated in the states of California, Arizona, and Massachusetts. We have witnessed other legislative moves, such as Proposition 227 in California and Senate Bill 1070 in Arizona, which have sent the message to immigrants and their children they do not belong here, whether undocumented or documented. Recently, in the state of California, Senate Bill 1174 is being proposed. If passed, it would repeal and amend Proposition 227 from 1998. Proposition 227 ended bilingual education services for students who did not speak

English. The new bill would provide services for ALL students in the state of California, thereby putting them on the path to becoming bilingual. As Erickson (2004) describes in his book, *Talk and Social Theory,* "…the local conduct of talk – and the social situation of interlocutors – is profoundly influenced by processes that are non-local – figuratively and in some aspects literally 'global' in their reach across spans of social time and space" (p. 107). Strictly speaking, the larger social climate regarding immigrant demographics, such as those present in TWDL contexts, notably heritage speakers of Spanish, could very well infiltrate into smaller spaces like the classroom where both language-minority and language-majority students interact (Pimental, Diaz Soto, Pimental, & Urrieta, 2008). It is therefore critical, in order to better understand the way the global and local connect in the context of a classroom, that we, as researchers, teachers, policy makers, administrators, and parents, continue to explore and to support what Reyes & Vallone (2007) proposed as a 4th pillar of DLE: identity construction. A better understanding of the ways in which the global and local connect in the context of a classroom will empower teachers to position students in ways that promote the co-construction of positive bilingual identities for *all* students.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

This chapter described the methodological steps taken and the procedures followed during this qualitative research project. The chapter began by presenting my positionality as a researcher who is also considered an insider because I share a similar ethnic and linguistic background as the focal participants, heritage speakers of Spanish, in

this longitudinal study. The rest of the chapter described in details the methods and methodology used to conduct a 4-year ethnographic study. These methods included data in the form of audio and video recordings for six weeks each academic school year. Specific attention was given to the kind of discourse analysis, Erickson's type-one, whole-to-part or inductive approach, undertaken to examine linguistic interactions. Lastly, this chapter addressed the researchers trustworthiness by describing how data, assumptions, and conclusions were confirmed by triangulation using multiple investigators and sources of data.

Hillside Elementary was a school that was under threat of being closed by the local school district due to low student enrollment, but the TWDL brought increased the student population and kept the school open. It is unique in that it became a school that brought two groups of students together to become bilingual. During the implementation of the TWDL program and while I was collecting data at Hillside Elementary the school and surrounding community was experiencing many demographic changes. The next chapter briefly discusses these demographic changes and the students who participated in this study.

Chapter 4: Hillside Elementary and Student Portraits

Demographic Changes at Hillside Elementary

This chapter provides the demographic changes at Hillside elementary since 2009. In this chapter I describe the TWDL program and introduce the students who participated in the study. Hillside (Hillside) Elementary was a public elementary school located in Central Texas. It is in one of the state's largest metropolitan cities, which has a large Latino, Spanish-speaking community and a large university student population. The elementary school is located west of a major interstate that divides the city between east and west. Historically, this division has represented racial and class divisions between European-American, Latino, and Black communities in the city.

Hillside Elementary served as the neighborhood school for a part of town that had been experiencing gentrification. The school also served students from other neighborhoods that transfer in just to participate in the TWDL program. In 2009, the demographics at Hillside Elementary included a Latino population of 87% compared to a 50% average statewide (see Appendix: Table 7). Seven percent of the students were considered White, or non-Hispanic, compared to 33% statewide. It is important to note that in 2009, a year prior to the TWDL implementation, 92% of the student population was considered economically disadvantaged compared to a 59% statewide average. That same year, 60% of the students were considered Limited English Proficient (LEP) compared to 17% statewide (Texas Education Agency, 2011). Although the student population at Hillside Elementary increased from 188 students in 2009 to 286 students in

2013, the "Hispanic" student population decreased from 87% to 66% while the White student population more than quadrupled from 7% to 30% during the same time frame.

In 2010, during the beginning stages of my data collection, the piloted TWDL program extended from kindergarten (K) to first grade and in pre-kindergarten they implemented the one-way, dual language program (i.e. the program served only Spanish dominant emergent bilingual children). In 2010, in the kindergarten and first grades, the two-way model was in use; a model, which dictates that approximately half of the students, comes from Spanish-speaking homes. As such, due to English-speaking and bilingual parents who had transferred their children to this school for the TWDL program, the changes the school experienced in student demographics were reflected mostly in the kindergarten classrooms. Each additional year, a new grade level was added to the dual language program. In 2013, by the end of data collection, the TWDL program extended up through 4th grade. The cohort of students who I began observing in 2010 had, by 2013, reached third grade. In the following section, I provide a detailed description of the focal students in this study.

Portraits of Participating Students

In 2010, when the TWDL model was implemented, approximately half of the students in this study were what Hillside Elementary teachers referred to as "neighborhood kids." They were children who had always lived in or near the neighborhood and for whom Hillside was their assigned school based on its proximity to their residence. There were also students who transferred in to Hillside Elementary in

order to be a part of the TWDL program. Overall, there were children of European-American, African-American, and Latino backgrounds. Of the latter, there were Mexican, Chilean, Colombian, and other nationalities.

The Pre-LAS and LAS are tests designed to measure expressive and receptive abilities of young children ages four to six in three linguistic components of oral language: phonology, syntax, and semantics (Duncan & DeAvila, 1985). Children in this DLBE program varied in their Spanish and English proficiency as determined by Pre-LAS and LAS scores. Information regarding the focal participants is summarized in Table 4. This study included 8 focal students: Elizabeth (Chapter 7), Leonardo, Mimí, Sergio, Valentina, Tessa, and *two who participated in the program for a single year, Mara, and Josué.

Table 4: Student Pre-LAS & LAS Scores and Background Information

Student	Background	Pre-Las: Beginning of K.	LAS: End of K.	LAS: 2nd Grade
Elizabeth	Latina	1 NES, 4 FSS	1 NES, 4F	3 E/ 4 S
*Josué	Latino	Not available.	Not available.	Not available.
Leonardo	Latino	4 FES, 3L	5 FES, 4 F	4 E/4 S
*Mara	European-American	Not available.	Not available.	Not available.
Mimí	Korean-American/ Latina	4 FES, 1 NES	5 FES, 1 NF	Not available.
Sergio	European-American/ Latino	5 FES, 3 L	4 FES, 4 F	5 E, 4 S
Valentina	European-American/ Latina	5 FE, 5 FSS	5 FES, 5 F	5 E, 4 S
Tessa	European-American	5 FES, 3 L	3 FES, 3 L	3 E/ 4 S

NES: Native English Speaker, FE: Fluent English, FES: Fluent English Speaker, FSS: Fluent Spanish Speaker, L: Limited, NF: Non-fluent.

Table 5 provides a brief description of the 16 non-focal participants that appear in the data interacting with the focal students.

Table 5 Brief Descriptions of the 16 Non-Focal Participants.

Name	Gender	Background	Home Language
Adel	Female	European-American	Spanish and English
Analisa	Female	European-American	English
Alejandro	Male	Latino	Spanish
Ellie	Female	European-American	English
Fred	Male	European-American	English
Chloe	Female	Latina	Spanish and English
Cristóbal	Male	Latino	Spanish and English
Colt	Male	European-American	English
Jeff	Male	European-American	Spanish and English
Leo	Male	European-American	English
Lila	Female	European-American/ Latina	Spanish and English
Juan Carlos	Male	Latino	Spanish
Juan	Male	Latino	Spanish and English
María	Female	Latina	Spanish and English
Mark	Male	Latino	Spanish and English
Scott	Male	African-American	English
Tonia	Female	Latina	Spanish and English

Although Analisa, Chloe, Colt, Scott, and Mark had been in the program from kindergarten through 3rd grade, they were not always present in the data because they

were separated into an English "dominant" group as they progressed in the TWDL program. To that end, it is crucial to mention the decisions I made about which children I would and would not follow in the study. I wanted to limit the study to explore identity development in a bilingual context and, as a single researcher; it was not feasible for me to gather data for language arts instruction in both settings. That is, children were segregated by "dominant" or "primary" language, and I chose to focus on the Spanish language arts classroom because this was the more "bilingual" context. I therefore restricted my observation to classrooms where the teacher used Spanish on a daily basis (as designed by the model in terms of allotted instructional time for Spanish) or where using Spanish was part of the teachers' linguistic repertoire despite the language of instruction (1st grade year). Specifically, my observation for kindergarten through 3rd grade centered on instructional time in Spanish. In the following sections, I describe the 8 focal students according to their ethnic background, home language, grades or years in the DLBE program, and general information about the student.

Tessa

Tessa is a European-American who came from an English-speaking home. Tessa had been in the DLBE program since its inception in 2010. She was part of the Spanish cohort of students, beginning as a kindergarten student and continuing through 3rd grade. Prior to Hillside Elementary, she attended a Spanish-immersion preschool. According to her kindergarten pre-LAS scores, she tested as a fluent English speaker (score 5 out of 5)

and a limited Spanish speaker (score 3 out of 5). Tessa was well liked and friendly with everyone.

Elizabeth

Elizabeth is a 2nd generation Mexican immigrant who came from a Spanish-speaking home. She attended Hillside Elementary in pre-kindergarten, but then transferred to her assigned neighborhood school in kindergarten. After 3 weeks of attending a large school, which, compared to Hillside, subjected students to a regimented classroom where teachers yelled (Interview with Elizabeth's mom, Fall, 2010), the principal at Hillside Elementary let Elizabeth return after the Hillside kindergarten year had begun. Elizabeth continued in the dual language program with many of her peers, but was retained in the 2nd grade. According to her kindergarten pre-LAS scores, she was a fluent Spanish speaker (score 4 out of 5) and a non-fluent English speaker (score 1 out of 5); however, according to her LAS scores in 2nd grade, she scored a 3 (out of 5) in English and a 4 (out of 5) in Spanish. In kindergarten, during bilingual centers time, Elizabeth often tried to interact with her partners, even when they were speaking in English. She expressed a desire to be accepted by peers as a competent bilingual. For instance, when working in bilingual learning centers, she shared with others at her table that she was bilingual, even though she was rarely observed speaking English in class: "*Yo hablo mucho español y hablo mucho inglés* / I speak a lot of Spanish and I speak a lot of English".

Leonardo

Leonardo is considered a 2nd generation immigrant because his parents immigrated to Texas before he was born in the United States. Both of his parents speak Spanish and, when I met them, they were eager to learn English; however, this was difficult because work and family matters took up most of their time. Leonardo was one of the "neighborhood kids" and had been in the dual language program since its inception in 2010, starting in kindergarten and continuing through 3rd grade as part of the Spanish cohort of students. Leonardo was not shy about sharing his thoughts and opinions, although he did not take the floor during lessons as much as other students.

Mimí

Mimí's mother is Colombian-American and, when I met her, was a bilingual teacher. She participated in a master degree in Bilingual Education at the local university, which focused on teacher leadership for bilingual/ESL education. Mimí's father is Korean-American. Mimí came from an English-speaking home, yet a home with one bilingual parent. Mimí started the dual language program in 2010 when it was first implemented, beginning in kindergarten and continuing through 3rd grade as part of the Spanish cohort of students. By the end of kindergarten, her pre-LAS scores rated her as a fluent English speaker (score 5 out of 5) and a non-fluent Spanish speaker (score 1 out of 5). In second grade, her LAS scores were not available. Mimí had a strong personality and was not afraid to share her thoughts. Her confidence in speaking Spanish grew each year that she participated in the program.

Sergio

Sergio's mother was born in the United States. She grew up in a Spanish-speaking home because her parents are 1st generation immigrants from Chile. Sergio's father is European-American and English-dominant. Sergio came from a home where he was exposed to both Spanish and English. When I met his mother, she was adamant about speaking to him in Spanish 100% of the time (Interview, 1/29/14). When Sergio started the dual language program in kindergarten, he had a firm grasp of both Spanish and English. He continued in the program through 3rd grade as part of the Spanish cohort of students. Sergio came across as a proficient bilingual due to his willingness to use the minority language and his efforts to sound like a monolingual in both English and Spanish. He did this during instructional times in either language, as well as in less academic settings like classroom transitional periods. Sergio frequently and successfully demanded attention from the teacher and his peers. This self-positioning stood in contrast to his pre-LAS scores, which classified him as a fluent English speaker (score 5 out of 5) and a limited Spanish speaker (score 3 out of 5). Like many of the kindergarten students whose parents advocated for the implementation of DLBE in the local school district, Sergio had also attended a very reputable and highly successful Spanish immersion private pre-school prior to attending Hillside Elementary. Many times he served as a voice or translator for his monolingual Spanish and English-speaking peers.

Valentina

Valentina's maternal grandparents are from Chile, so Valentina's mother was raised in the U.S. in a Spanish-speaking home. Interestingly, Valentina and Sergio are cousins,

and, when I met their mothers, both of them had jobs in education. Valentina came from a home where both parents spoke solely in Spanish. In fact, Valentina's father spoke primarily in Spanish with her, which was his second language. His effort to speak primarily in Spanish with Valentina was an intentional effort to ensure she became a strong speaker of Spanish, hence her 5/5 Pre-LAS score. Valentina entered the dual language program in 2010 as a bilingual kindergarten student and continued through 3rd grade as part of the Spanish cohort of students. According to her pre-LAS scores, her language proficiency in English and in Spanish was at the same level. She tested as a fluent English speaker (score 5 out of 5) and as a fluent Spanish speaker (score 5 out of 5). Valentina was not as outspoken as Sergio, but she was not shy about sharing her thoughts and opinions during expected times, such as participating in a lesson or while interacting with her peers.

Participated for one Year in the TWDL Program:

Josué

Josué is a 2nd generation Mexican immigrant and came from a Spanish-speaking home. He attended Hillside Elementary during the first grade academic school year, which is the reason why a Pre-LAS test score for kindergarten was not available. The school he previously attended had not transferred his scores or they did not test him. He was a middle child, with two older and two younger siblings. He lived with both his parents, and the family had recently moved back to the city after living in a suburb. Josué is also considered a heritage speaker of Spanish. Although his kindergarten pre-LAS scores were

not available, both Ms. Jackson and I agreed that he seemed like a well-balanced and proficient bilingual. Josué was described by his teacher as, a student that "sparkled during the dramatization of scenes" (Field Notes, 12/14/11). She also mentioned during an interview that his interest in dramatic play came as a surprise. Ms. Jackson described Josué as a reader who struggled with decoding, problem solving, and syntax.

Mara

Mara is European-American and an English-speaking student. Her father is originally from Latvia and bilingual in English and Latvian. Mara attended Hillside Elementary for one year during second grade. Teachers had a hard time finding a bilingual partner for Mara because she was described as "difficult to work with" (Interview, March, 2013). According to Ms. Epett, the only student who worked well with her was Elizabeth. She is included in the analysis of this study because she expressed ideas about bilingualism that were distinct from her "monolingual" English-speaking counterparts: student who had been in the program since kindergarten.

DIVIDED INTO GROUPS AT HILLSIDE ELEMENTARY

The Hillside school community talked about students as being a part of various groups or categories, such as: Spanish-speakers and English-speakers, transfer and neighborhood children, pro' bilinguals or simply English or Spanish speakers, and 1st or 2nd generation immigrants. The children, inevitably, found themselves divided into groups. Although dichotomies are problematic and none were clean divisions, these

labels were repeatedly used. I also draw on them to express the realities of the participants, and have certainly tried to avoid using the categories to divide students in this dissertation project.

Summary of Chapter

This chapter introduced the portraits of the participating eight focal students. I provide readers with students' ethnic and linguistic background, how long they were in the TWDL program, along with information about their individual personalities.

My aim in Chapter 5 is to provide a nuanced description of the classrooms I visited and of the teachers who opened their doors to me. I tried to illuminate both their strengths and struggles in navigating the implementation of the TWDL program they were being asked to use.

Chapter 5: Teacher Profiles and Classroom Contexts

INTRODUCTION

This chapter contains: a detailed profile of the classroom teachers, a full description of the ways in which language learning is positioned, and the ways in which identity is co-constructed in each classroom based on observational field notes, video and audio recordings, and informal interviews of teachers. A table is provided below as a brief introduction.

Table 6: Brief Description of the Classroom Teachers.

Name	Grade	Language used by the Teacher
Mrs. Ontivero	Kindergarten	Spanish
Ms. Jackson	First Grade	Dynamic Bilingualism
Ms. Contreras	Second Grade	Spanish
Mrs. Epett	Second Grade	English
Mrs. Morales	Third Grade	Spanish

Specifically, Chapter 5 describes how the TWDL program affected the participants. I illustrate the contexts in which the students I followed for 4 years forged their bilingual and academic identities. This chapter includes a fuller description of *how* this "village" changed; specifically, the significant role the teachers played in the ways in which students, as a group, interacted while using Spanish and English in the classroom.

Holland, Lachicotte, Skinner, and Cain's (1998) conception of figured worlds guided my description of the four classrooms and the participating students and teachers in this chapter.

The classroom analysis answers the following research question: *What role do teachers play in the interactional co-construction of emerging bilinguals' identities within the TWDL classroom context?*

Holland et al. (1998) described the construction of identity as occurring within several contexts, one of which includes the concept of a figured world where "Thinking, speaking, gesturing, [and] cultural exchange[s] are forms of social as well as cultural work" (p. 271). It is within these figured worlds where individuals use specific practices; practices drawn upon "historically contingent, socially enacted, culturally constructed worlds" to engage with multiple identities (p. 7). This chapter includes an exploration of how the TWDL classroom has the potential to be a figured world where children's use of Spanish and English can also serve as "cultural exchanges" to develop a bilingual identity. Drawing from Bakhtin's (1981) notion of self and the social event, the ways in which students use Spanish and English for academic and social purposes are also representative of the "historically contingent, socially enacted, culturally constructed" practices and activities that students have been a part of prior to entering the figured world of the TWDL classroom. By bringing two supposedly distinct demographics together, whose personal histories, social engagements, and cultural practices have the potential of varying greatly, we are also creating a space where "immigrant/non-immigrant" children and their families can develop cross-cultural understanding.

In order to describe how identity is co-constructed during "several social contexts of activity," (Holland et al., 1998) I also drew from Bucholtz and Hall's (2008) partialness principle where identity is "constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts" (p. 606). Holland et al. (1998) describe identity construction as contextualized and as occurring "in practice." That is, "practiced identities are constructs that can be described by reference to several contexts of activity" (Holland et.al, 1998). The way language learning was positioned in each classroom determined the kinds of identities that emerged during linguistic interactions. This chapter focused on one context of activity, the figured world, and how the teacher played a critical part in the ways in which students co-construct their own and each other's sense of identity.

Holland et al. (1998) described the figured world as:

> …a socially and culturally constructed realm of interpretation in which particular characters and actors are recognized, significance is assigned to certain acts, and particular outcomes are valued over others. (p. 52)

The potential teachers have to influence language learning and their students' interactions are examined in this chapter (Bartlett & García, 2011; DePalma, 2010; Potowski, 2007). Every classroom in this study represented a figured world where the use of Spanish and English are artifacts the students used to co-construct their own and each other's identities. The teachers and students in this study responded to a storyline, or backdrop, that gave shape to how the TWDL program was implemented.

If we think of the individual, teacher, or student as walking into the dual language classroom with a certain *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1990), which includes tools from varying categories that make up each one's being, then we can also argue that teachers and students have the potential of coming from very different social positions. These social positions can influence the ways in which teachers promote language learning and the linguistic exchanges between students, thereby affecting the ways in which each student does or does not construct a bilingual identity within the figured world of a dual language program.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) describe identity as the social positioning of self and other. The concept of positionality situated and distinguished the ways in which the teacher's role assisted in creating the experiences children have as members of a dual language community. Those who come from "monolingual" Spanish or bilingual 1st and 2nd generation immigrant homes, as opposed to those who come from 3rd generation/Latino plus immigrant bilingual or "monolingual" English homes, will face challenges and have experiences that are significantly different from each other, depending on how the teacher(s) facilitates language learning. To that end, I introduce the teachers below with the assumption that all teachers work hard to do their best by their students, and that the following bilingual teachers wanted to support the development of bilingual identities.

DATA

The data in this chapter includes the voices of five classroom teachers who taught the cohort of students I followed for 4 years. I provide only a brief description of one of the 2nd grade teachers, Ms. Epett, because she appears in Chapter 7 as a special case study when she taught Elizabeth. The data I collected in Ms. Epett's class was limited to bilingual center learning times; therefore, she is not verbally represented in the recordings of student interactions. Each teacher's thoughts and opinions provide the reader with a voice and with insight into how each teacher positioned students as language learners in the classroom. The classroom video and audio recordings demonstrate how teachers fostered language learning and the co-construction of identity in their classrooms. As mentioned, during each academic year, I collected data for 6-8 consecutive weeks while visiting the classroom one to two times per week for 1-2 hours each visit. That is to say, for this chapter there are a total of ~24 weeks of audio and video recordings of classroom observations and interviews. During and/or after the classroom visits, I would ask teachers any pending questions I had.

KINDERGARTEN: BILINGUAL STUDENTS AS DUAL MONOLINGUALS

TEACHER PROFILE

Walking into Mrs. Ontivero's classroom, it was clear that half of the space consisted of six rectangular tables where students were seated in groups of 3-4, depending on how lessons were organized that day and who was in attendance. The other

half of the room had a rug where children would gather and sit for whole-group lessons. Along the perimeter of the room, there were typical classroom decorations and supplies, such as an easel with a dry erase board another dry erase board along two of the walls, and a bilingual word wall. Alongside the long dry erase board, Mrs. Ontivero posted the daily schedule as per each content area; the names of bilingual partners and how these pairs would rotate on a particular day through the bilingual learning centers; a weather and monthly calendar; and samples of student work. On any given day, children would be working with their bilingual partners at one of the learning centers, or grouped on the rug translating for each other during a whole-group lesson, or reading together in the classroom library that was situated in one of the corners of the room. Meanwhile, Mrs. Ontivero would either be leading a whole-class lesson, walking around the room to ask students questions about the academic task at hand, or seated at her rainbow-shaped table leading a guided reading lesson or assessing children. What made Mrs. Ontivero pleasant and accessible to kindergarten children was her sweet and slightly high-pitched voice, which she never raised, even during student-to-student disagreements. She always maintained a calm demeanor with the children, who seemed to enjoy coming to class and having Mrs. Ontivero as their teacher.

Mrs. Ontivero is a bilingual Latina and was raised in an immigrant family in a large city a few hours from the research site. She received her teacher certification through an alternative certification program located within the local area. These kinds of programs, unlike university degree-based teacher certification programs, have the distinction of offering individuals, who already have a bachelor degree the opportunity to

become a teacher within a limited amount of time.

During the Spanish Language Arts block, which took place in the morning, Mrs. Ontivero used Spanish for the vast majority of the time. She only resorted to English on rare occasions and only with the intrasentential insertion of words like "okay" (Field Notes, October 3, 2010). That is to say, in certain Spanish-speaking communities, like Northern México and Ecuador, the use of "okay" is not viewed as "English" per se, in that some Spanish speakers actually use OK (or in writing "oquey") in their Spanish. Mrs. Ontivero's fidelity to the TWDL model kept the use of Spanish separate from English instruction, including in her interactions with students. She encouraged students to speak in Spanish during lessons by modeling how she primarily used Spanish herself; however, she allowed students to use whichever language they wanted during bilingual learning centers. As such, she was a strong supporter of the model design (see Table 3 in Chapter 1).

In the bilingual learning centers students were asked to complete an academic task, and they could choose which language they wanted to use while they conversed, whether Spanish, English, or both. The language that students chose to use during bilingual learning centers time depended on the student's language background. Students sat in groups of two to four and rotated between 5 centers. They always rotated with the same group and with their bilingual partner. For example, when Elizabeth (Spanish-dominant) was grouped with Sergio (bilingual) and Analisa (English-dominant), the conversation was mostly in English between Sergio and Analisa. Elizabeth was quiet and spoke very little English; therefore, her communication transpired in the form of body

language, such as nodding her head or passing a marker upon request. Sergio, however, shifted between Spanish and English to accommodate either Ana or Elizabeth. During another observation, Elizabeth was grouped with Mark, a bilingual, and Leonardo, a bilingual, and she spoke mostly in Spanish. The two bilingual boys, Mark and Leonardo, were also what Mrs. Ontivero called "neighborhood kids" or children who lived in the surrounding neighborhood. These are the details that describe Mrs. Ontivero's and her students "figured world of bilingualism."

Mrs. Ontivero supported the implementation of the TWDL model, which was first implemented in 2010 at Hillside Elementary. Each consecutive year, an additional grade level replaced the Transitional Bilingual Education model then in place at Hillside Elementary. During an interview, I asked Mrs. Ontivero if the demographics had changed much since the year before, and she said, "Oh yeah." I proceeded to ask what else she had noticed, and she said, "I've noticed that the neighborhood Spanish-speaking children seem more proud of their Spanish-language background, whereas last year they either did not want to speak Spanish or weren't as proud of knowing it (Informal Interview, 10/15/10). " The mother of Chloe also noted the change in attitude. She commented that, *now*, after being a part of the TWDL program, Chloe would actually use Spanish with her (Field Notes, October 15, 2010). That is to say, Mrs. Ontivero believed that at Hillside Elementary and in her classroom, Spanish had increased in status because the school embraced an "additive" form of bilingual education. The implementation of TWDL at Hillside Elementary gave Mrs. Ontivero and the parents hope that this process might result in stronger bilingualism for the "neighborhood kids."

Data

The kindergarten classroom was part of the first year of piloting the TWDL program in the local school district and thus reflected the demographic changes the school was experiencing. That is to say, a once working-class and *mexicano* community was now integrating nearly 40 new families into the neighborhood school, and many of these families came from upper middle-class and white backgrounds. This demographic change was due to the neighborhood itself being gentrified and because children from other neighborhoods had requested transfers due to the TWDL program. The data for the following sections of this chapter includes six weeks of video and audio recordings collected during the fall of 2010 in Mrs. Ontivero's classroom.

Language Learning

According to the TWDL model in place during kindergarten, the language of instruction was separated according to the content area being taught (see Table 3 in Chapter 1). It was only during Reading/Language Arts that children were separated by their native language. Mrs. Ontivero's classroom focused on Spanish during language learning while her fellow teacher and partner, Ms. Smith, with whom she had been working for six years, instructed the same group of students in English during Math; thus, both teachers adhered to the TWDL model (see Table 3 in Chapter 1). Mrs. Ontivero asked students to seek help from their bilingual partners if they did not understand something or if they were unsure of how to say something in Spanish. That is to say, all students were positioned as experts in their "native" language(s). Mrs. Ontivero's

classroom context involved more than just learning Spanish; it reflected the figured world of bilingualism because all class members could contribute to and benefit from knowledge and learning based on their "native," or stronger, language as identified by their Language Arts placement. By following the model's design in keeping the language of instruction and the language of the day separate, and, in keeping the teaching of such content as Science and Social Studies in Spanish with linguistically integrated groups, as well as pairing children up with members of the "other" language, Mrs. Ontivero positioned *all* children as language learners in one language and as experts in another language – just as the TWDL model dictated.

Although Mrs. Ontivero positioned children as language learners and as experts in their "native" language by maintaining fidelity to the model and by maintaining strict separation of languages, the curriculum did not facilitate opportunities to delve deeper in discussing sensitive topics with the whole-class. That is to say, the teacher sacrificed the content that would emerge in daily conversations from the students in order to encourage target language use. For example, during designated English or Spanish instructional time students were asked to use each other as resources if they did not understand what the teacher had just finished saying in the target language. At times, such as in the Spanish Language Arts block, students would use both English and Spanish within the same utterance. Students would also introduce topics, perhaps certain phenotypes and Spanish speakers, which were not related to the content at hand. This meant, that Mrs. Ontivero missed opportunities where the whole class could discuss such sensitive issues like what the Latino diaspora looks like in the U.S. and beyond.

One instance in my research stands out. During an informal interview, Mrs. Ontivero shared with me that Elizabeth arrived to school one day and asked her if she liked the new highlights in her hair (Field Notes, October 15, 2010). Mrs. Ontivero went on to explain that she did not think Elizabeth should have highlights because she was still very young. Mrs. Ontivero said Elizabeth responded by asking why it was okay for Valentina to dye her hair blonde, while highlights were not acceptable for her? When Mrs. Ontivero reiterated Elizabeth's question to me during the interview she interpreted what she thought Elizabeth was noticing in regards to phenotypic differences amongst bilinguals. She said that Elizabeth was really asking, why it was okay for Valentina, a blonde bilingual whose mom is Chilean-American, to dye her entire hair blonde, while highlights were not acceptable for Elizabeth, a brown-skinned, brunette, Spanish-speaker? Ms. Ontivero's focus on using the target languages according to the academic content did not provide flexibility in straying from the curriculum and in addressing pertinent and relevant subjects, such as the intersectionality of race, language, and class status; all elements that contribute to identity construction. It should be noted that Ms. Ontivero was simply teaching according to the new TWDL program her school had decided to implement. She was doing her best to separate the language of instruction as it was written for the TWDL model. The curriculum and instruction dictated by the TWDL model that Ms. Ontivero so faithfully followed did not promote or provide room for these kinds of discussions in an intentional way, so they could be easily missed. Following this curriculum faithfully made teachers focus mostly on issues of language separation and labels, which did not necessarily build on the students' interests, critical or social issues,

or students' borderlands identities and vernaculars. The next section explores Mrs. Ontivero's role in the ways that students co-constructed their own and each other's sense of identity.

Co-Construction of Identity: Sense-making Across Linguistic Borders

As stated, I observed that Mrs. Ontivero missed opportunities to let children explore the borderlands, to allow for ambiguity and a dynamic definition of bilingualism, and for hybridity and the spaces it opens up for potential conflict, tension, and such. These spaces of tension are very generative; there are very much learning spaces. Mrs. Ontivero missed out on these because she persisted in placing children in either blue or red spaces (color-coded labels used to mark the names of items in the classroom in Spanish and/or English) not only in her visual classroom artifacts, but also in her instruction. She missed opportunities to explicitly engage in discussions about the way in which emerging bilinguals, not English or Spanish experts, vary in phenotype and communicative practices, due to the Latino diaspora. Interestingly, the students did engage anyway in sense making across their supposed borders and in collaborating to co-construct bilingualism within this figured world of kindergarten. Mrs. Ontivero did not explicitly ask students to solely converse in Spanish or English; but, if the children chose to speak in English to one another, she did not comment on whether it was a designated English or Spanish day as the model is designed. In fact, translanguaging practices did occur in this classroom. For instance, prior to beginning a science lesson read-aloud

called *Stella Luna*, (Cannon, 1993) the following exchange occurred between Analisa, Elizabeth, Chloe, Mark, and Mrs. Ontivero:

Excerpt 1: *Todos somos amigos./*We are all friends.

Translations of Spanish and English are divided with a forward slash, utterances in Spanish are in italics, and the body language or tones are in bold.

(1) Analisa: Elizabeth just hit me.

(2) Mrs. Ontivero, to Analisa and then to Elizabeth:

*Habla con Elizabeth. ¿Elizabeth? Habla con tu compañera./*Speak with Elizabeth. Elizabeth? Speak with your classmate.

(3) Elizabeth: *No con mi compañera./*Not with my classmate.

(4) Mrs. Ontivero: *¿Perdón?/*Excuse me?

(5) Mark: *Todos somos amigos./*We are all friends.

(6) Mrs. Ontivero: *Síí. Es tu compañera, tienes que ayudarla, ¿verdad?/*Yes. She is your classmate, you have to help her. Right?

(7) Chloe: That's not nice.

In the transcript above, the teacher responded and spoke only in the target language, Spanish. The student's spoke in English, Spanish, and code switched with one another or the teacher in their interactions.

As mentioned earlier, the conversation above occurred seconds prior to Mrs. Ontivero starting a lesson about bats. The class had been learning about bats the entire

week. After the incident above Mrs. Ontivero proceeded to open up the lesson that day (Field Notes, 10/13/10) by asking the class, *"¿Por qué son mamíferos?"* Chloe responded by saying, "…porque son bats." Code switching was part of Chloe's linguistic repertoire, and she was not shy about using both languages during academic lessons. For example, in an earlier whole-class Science lesson (Field Notes: 10/06/10) about owls, Mrs. Ontivero stated, while indicating the book she was reading to the class, "*Aquí dice que [búhos o lechuzas] comen todas clases de animals* / Here it says [owls] eat all kinds of animals." Chloe, technically a bilingual child who had been categorized as English-speaking for Language Arts instruction, once again responded by uttering the following sentence: "*No va (a) comer mi animals! /* It isn't going to eat my animals!" Chloe's code switch from Spanish to English, although just with the single noun, animal, represents a dynamic form of bilingualism that is very much a part of this central Texas community. Rich linguistic moments like these transpired in the classroom, but Mrs. Ontivero did not hone in on these instances when emergent bilinguals introduced a valuable resource in the classroom: dynamic bilingualism. The way in which the set TWDL curriculum told her to teach set her up to, perhaps, not even notice the diverse and resourceful ways in which bilinguals communicate. Mrs. Ontivero was in essence indicating to students like Chloe that only a certain kind of Spanish was validated.

In contrast to the curriculum imposed on the teachers at Hillside Elementary, an alternative curriculum with an emphasis on diverse language practices in a TWDL model might have better supported Mrs. Ontivero's instruction to be more flexible in her approach to students like Chloe. For example, she could have verbally and physically

acknowledged Chloe's response by stating that there are different ways to refer to *murciélagos.* She could have said something like "We can call them animals, *animales,* bats, or *murciélagos*." She could have started a cognate chart to distinguish between the languages we use to refer to objects or other beings. Overall, Mrs. Ontivero's approach remained faithful to the TWDL model being used to teach Spanish and English, where children were positioned as language resources one to another. Additionally, Mrs. Ontivero herself had mentioned, that the implementation of the TWDL model did elevate the status of Spanish compared to prior years, and she noticed that some of her "neighborhood kids" were now more proud to speak in Spanish. Still, despite what seemed like an ideal setting for collaborating to co-construct bilingualism within this figured world of kindergarten, Mrs. Ontivero's chose to speak solely in one code: "standard" Spanish. Her approach to teaching did not intentionally include the fluid nature of the ways in which language(s) work for emergent bilinguals.

Bucholtz and Hall (2008) described how linguistic construction of identity works in tandem with social interaction (see Chapter 2). When Mrs. Ontivero used "standard" Spanish she inadvertently placed more value on the "dominant" or "standard" varieties of both English and Spanish. By giving more value to "standard" varieties of Spanish, Mrs. Ontivero was also fostering identities of "limited bilingualism" when the students code switched rather than speaking in the target language throughout an entire utterance. In later sections of this chapter, I provide detailed examples that describe how students accepted, contributed to, or rejected these kinds of bilingual identities through their use of language.

The following section provides a glimpse into the first grade classroom and the ways in which the classroom teacher positioned language learning and language learners in her classroom, as well as how she supported the co-construction of identity.

First Grade: Developing a Translanguaging Pedagogy

Teacher Profile

When walking into Ms. Jackson's classroom, 6 rectangular tables in the center of the room were immediately visible. These were where students sat in groups of 3 - 4, depending on how lessons were organized and who was in attendance that day. At the front of the room next to the entrance door, there was a rug where children gathered for the whole-group lessons. Along the perimeter of the room, there were the typical classroom decorations and supplies, such as a dry erase board, spanning two of the four walls. One section of the board was in front of the rug, and the other section was to the right-hand side of the entrance door. There was a bilingual word wall. Here too were bookshelves filled with books for the students to read, cabinets at the back where Ms. Jackson stored lesson materials, and additional wall space where she posted instructions for academic tasks to complete according to the day's lesson plans and hung samples of student work. On any given day, the children could be found at tables working with their bilingual partners or, depending on the day's lesson, standing around the room translating for each other and/or code switching to bridge understanding, express an emotion, or simply because that is what bilinguals do. Such behavior might occur during a whole-group lesson on the carpet or while reading and writing together at their tables with a

bilingual partner. Meanwhile, Ms. Jackson was either leading a whole-class lesson or walking around the room to ask students questions about the academic task at hand. During my observations, I never saw Ms. Jackson seated at her rainbow-shaped table nor did I see her assessing the students. It is possible she may have given assessments to students when I was not present. She may also have conducted, like Mrs. Ontivero, guided reading lessons, but because during the fall of 2011 researchers were implementing process drama (see Chapter 6), we were always actively focused on and engaged with the students. What made Ms. Jackson an energetic and intriguing teacher was how naturally she seemed to engage with the children through translanguaging discourse practices and her demeanor as a motivating practitioner who tried to reach and to challenge all her students. Children clearly enjoyed coming to class and having Ms. Jackson as their bilingual teacher.

When I observed Ms. Jackson, she taught first grade at Hillside Elementary; however, in her 11 years of teaching, she had taught kindergarten, first, and third grade. Ms. Jackson grew up in the Rio Grande Valley in a bilingual household. She reported that her home language practices as a child included constant switching back and forth all the time between Spanish and English. Although she was English dominant and schooled entirely in English, she explained that, "I understood Spanish just fine...like, my grandmother understood English just fine. But she would answer me in Spanish and I would talk to her [in English] - We were 'two-way!' You know, I completely understood everything in Spanish, but I was never encouraged to speak Spanish, never explicitly taught. It was just what I picked up from my parents and my grandparents" (Interview,

August, 2011). Ms. Jackson explained that she began formal study of Spanish when she went to college and decided to become a bilingual teacher; in fact, it was not really until then that she began to see herself as bilingual. Thus, Ms. Jackson had a deeply ingrained habit of code switching to clarify any miscommunication or when the sentiment of what she was trying to say depended on one language over the other.

Data

Between October 6th and December 16th, 2011, I visited Hillside Elementary a total of 12 times. As a participant-observer, I collected data by video recording all 12 of the one-hour observations for an average of 25 minutes per clip. That is, some of the clips were brief video recordings ranging between 5 minutes to 60 minutes. After each visit, I wrote analytic memos about the observations I made. It is in these memos where I highlighted issues that arose during the observation, and also where I wrote about the instructional changes and approaches that Ms. Jackson and I planned to implement in our next lesson.

Language Learning

I observed during Social Studies or during the designated literacy block. Instruction by Mrs. Jackson was supposed to be in either Spanish or English, as required by the TWDL model, depending on the subject area or language of the day. It should be noted that students, as well as the teacher, used both languages interchangeably during each observation. In other words, although the teacher was expected to teach in either Spanish or English during certain content areas, she tapped into her linguistic resources of code

switching and translating to communicate with her students when something was not clear. As the year progressed, the students created and referenced a list of words and cognates on a classroom wall to discuss significance between the English and Spanish languages.

Co-construction of Identity: Drawing on Bilingual Children's Linguistic Resources as Tools for Learning.

In the following transcript, Ms. Jackson congratulated her students on their recognition of phonological differences and similarities between Spanish and English. As such, she positioned her students as knowledgeable about both languages and as competent bilingual speakers. She modeled dynamic bilingualism as she engaged with them. This interaction demonstrated the potential ways in which teachers in settings like the TWDL classroom can position students as bilingual resources for peers learning a second language.

This interaction occurred during a whole-group debriefing, and after the dramatization of a poem entitled, *My Name is Jorge* (Medina, 1999). In the poem, a child, who has moved from México to the U.S., laments the fact that people in school now call him "George," even though he asserts that his name is really "*Jorge*." In the transcript below, the teacher and four students, Josué (bilingual Latino), Leonardo (bilingual Latino), Fred (English-dominant white student), and Scott (English-dominant black student), engaged in a discussion about why Jorge's name may have been mispronounced as George:

Excerpt 2: Developing Metalinguistic Awareness

(1) Ms. Jackson: Josué, did you want to add something?

(2) Josué: *Como, jota, significa George pero es Jorge; piensan que es George. Pero no es George, es Jorge porque la /g/, la jota, significa que es George*. / Like, J sounds like George, but it's Jorge, so they think that it's George. But it's not George; it's Jorge because the /j/ sounds like George.

(3) Ms. Jackson: *¿La jota significa que es George en inglés o español*? / The /j/ means that it's George in English or Spanish?

(4) Josué: *…en inglés* / in English

(5) Ms. Jackson: *…en inglés. Ooooo, ¿escucharon eso? Josué dijo que en inglés la jota significa [j] y en español la jota dice [h] pero en inglés, ¿esta letra significa?* How do you say this sound in English? / In English. Oooooh, did everyone hear that? Josué said that in English the /j/ sounds like [j] and in Spanish the /j/ actually says [j], but in English this letter sounds like? How do you say this sound in English?

(6) Students: [j]

(7) Ms. Jackson: So, maybe, is that where the confusion is coming from about his name?

(8) Fred: No, maybe he knows English and Spanish? Maybe he knows that his name is George in English, but he just

doesn't reply because he wants people to call him his real name.

(9) Ms. Jackson: Right. I'm saying, the confusion is coming from where?

(10) Leonardo: …and he's from México.

(11) Ms. Jackson: What?

(12) Leonardo: He's from México.

(13) Ms. Jackson: He is from México, but where is he now?

(14) Leonardo: …the United States

(15) Ms. Jackson: He's in the U.S. I don't know where in the U.S.

(16) Scott: Like, Josué's name starts with a /G/, but its [J].

(17) Ms. Jackson: …with a J.

(18) Scott: …but it has to do with a /H/.

(19) Ms. Jackson: I'm sorry?

(20) Scott: …in Josué's name. It's a /J/ in his name, but it sounds like a [H].

(21) Ms. Jackson: It does sound like an /H/, right. You're right.

(22) Josué: [mumbles something]

(23) Ms. Jackson: *Dilo otra vez Josué./*Say it again, Josué.

(24) Josué: *No significa jo-zuay. Significa Josué./*You don't say jo-zuay. You say Josué.

(25) Ms. Jackson: *No Jo-zuay*. *Josué. Muy bien./*Not Jo-zuay. Josué.

During the debriefing, Ms. Jackson noticed that Josué was eager to share something, so she responded to his physical cues and asked, "Josué, did you want to add something?" He immediately described his understanding of English versus Spanish phonology to point the possible confusion in the way the character's name, Jorge, was being pronounced in the poem. He went on to display his metalinguistic knowledge by explaining that the letter /J/ in English makes a similar sound to the letter /G/ in English; therefore, that may be the reason why the English-speaking teacher called Jorge, George. In this example, Josué used the bilingual skill of translating to negotiate the meaning behind this critical scene. His translation was finely articulated in order to discuss the phonological difference between Spanish and English letters in the mispronunciation of Jorge's name. Ms. Jackson rewarded Josué on his language skills by calling the other students' attention to what he had just shared: "*Ooooo, ¿escucharon eso? Josué dijo que en inglés la jota significa [j] y en español la jota dice* [j] *pero, ¿en inglés esta letra...?* How do you say this sound in English? / "Oooo, did everyone hear that? Josué said in English that the letter /J/ sounds like [j] and in Spanish the letter /J/ sounds like [j], but in English this letter? How do you say this sound in English?" In addition to Ms. Jackson modeling a border-crossing linguistic strategy like translating when she asked students in Spanish and English what sound the letter /J/ makes in English, she also validated Josué's use of translation to help bring meaning to a discussion about a critical scene in a poem.

During a separate interview, Ms. Jackson described Josué as a student who "sparkled during the dramatization of scenes" (Field Notes, 12/14/11). She also described him as a reader who struggled with decoding, problem solving, and syntax. When Ms.

Jackson brought attention to Josué's explanation as to why there may be confusion in the way Jorge was being mispronounced, she repositioned him from a struggling reader to a knowledgeable and competent bilingual resource for peers who were learning a second language. Josué used his translanguaging skills to bring meaning to a discussion with both English-dominant and bilingual students about a critical scene from a book. Ms. Jackson's positioning of Josué as a competent bilingual also opened up a space for Josué to exert his sense of agency and thus correct, like Jorge did in the poem, the way in which Scott was mispronouncing his own name. Bucholtz and Hall's (2008) partialness principle (see Chapter 2) described the construction of identity as being partly habitual and frequently "less fully conscious." Although Josué may have not been fully aware of the role he was playing in the construction of his identity as a bilingual in the preceding scene; Josué was able to exert his sense of agency due to the opportunity to interactionally negotiate and contest the phonological differences between Spanish and English and he, as were other students, was able to do this in both languages.

Teachers have the potential to play an agentive and necessary role in positioning students in dual language classrooms so that they are encouraged to invest in powerful bilingual identities. By modeling bilingual language practices, by celebrating border-crossing moments, and by positioning students as bilingually competent, teachers can support the emergence of dynamic bilingualism as diverse groups of students learn academic content alongside language.

In the following section, I provide detailed descriptions of three 2nd grade teachers: Ms. Contreras, her student teacher Ms. Hidalgo, and Mrs. Epett. There is only a

brief description of Mrs. Epett in this section because she will figure more prominently in Chapter 7 when I present data related to Elizabeth, one of the focal students. With Ms. Contreras, I examined the ways in which she positioned language learning and language learners in her classroom and how she supported the co-construction of identity. During the time that I collected data, Ms. Contreras had a student teacher in her classroom, Ms. Hidalgo; therefore, I also provide a profile of Ms. Hidalgo. Because Spanish was sanctioned in Ms. Contreras's classroom and where many of my focal students were also placed, this was where I collected most of the data during the second grade year.

Before delving into an examination of Elizabeth's 2nd grade experiences, it is important to briefly comment on how the TWDL program had evolved by the time Elizabeth's peers, (although not Elizabeth herself), moved on to the third grade. The TWDL program at Hillside Elementary had evolved to include what the teachers referred to as the "Spanish cohort" and the "English cohort" of 3rd grade students. The students were separated into either language according to their level of proficiency, even though the program model they were supposed to be implementing called for integration of the language groups all day by second grade. This separation was justified in order to better prepare the students for the state assessment test scheduled in the spring of 2014. Mrs. Morales had informed me that, as required in the TWDL model, English-dominant and Spanish-dominant students would be appropriately matched as bilingual partners after the standardized test was administered in the spring of 2014. That is, children assigned to the "English" cohort and "Spanish" cohort would be blended, but they would still switch in the newly blended groups as they had been doing after lunch (Field Notes, 11/13/2013).

The following section is a little detour in order to illustrate the way the "village" had evolved over time to categorize these children and separate them in potentially highly problematic and inequitable ways.

Language Labels Based on a Power of Hegemony and the Co-construction of Identity

I focus in this section on the co-construction of identity and the idea of a "language expert," specifically as this label transpired during individual student interviews. During my data collection period in the second grade classroom, primarily out of curiosity about what they would say, I decided to try conducting some "retrospective interviews" (Rampton, 1995) with the focal children. I showed the focal students a video of themselves in either kindergarten or first grade, and also showed the students one from their present 2nd grade classroom. One motive behind showing these was to demonstrate to the children how much progress they had made as bilinguals and as members of the TWDL program. The students and I then discussed both their progress and that of their peers in learning the target language of either English or Spanish. I include the following example specifically because Sergio, in his descriptions, seems to reveal the social categories that had begun to emerge throughout the years I observed; specifically, in terms of how Elizabeth was positioned in the classrooms. This excerpt includes Sergio, a student who had been in the TWDL program since kindergarten, and me as we discussed bilingual partners during the 2nd grade year.

Excerpt 3: Language Labels and the Power of Hegemony.

(1) Researcher: Who is your bilingual partner?

(2) Sergio: Steven

(3) Researcher: Steven. Umm…do you help him with Spanish?

(4) Sergio: Yeah…in the morning he had some problems with

… he's a really good English speaker, but not really good at any Spanish. So, this morning I was helping him, and he was doing so much work that he got 3 sentences down in Spanish.

(5) Researcher: So, who is the Spanish expert in your pair?

(6) Sergio: Me and Jason.

(7) Researcher: Wait, there are 3 people in your bilingual pair?

(8) Sergio: Yeah.

(9) Researcher: And is there an English expert in your group?

(10) Sergio: Me and Steven. Because Jason doesn't know that much English so we help him. I'm bilingual. Jason knows mostly Spanish. Steven knows mostly English. So, there are like 4 pros in the whole class. There' s me, Tessa, Valentina, and Mimí.

(11) Researcher: 4 pros? What do you mean?

(12) Sergio: Like….they're like the most bilingual speakers. They speak, they speak, they are like the most bilingual (inaudible).

(13) Researcher: So who would be the Spanish pros?

(14) Sergio: Me and Valentina. And the English pros would be Tessa and Mimí. Well, we all know bilingual. Me and Sofia know completely bilingual, but, then, Tessa and Mimí know a little bit bilingual. They both know like a lot of English and have Spanish.

(15) Researcher: SO, the Spanish pros in your classroom, who are they?

(16) Sergio: Mimí…no…me and Valentina. Me and Valentina.

(17) Researcher: What about the….

(18) Sergio: There are other people, but they're not exactly pros because me and Valentina are like the smartest in the class. There are other people that were like born in México so they know a lot of Spanish, like Roberto, Alejandro, Beto….

(19) Researcher: And they're, are they Spanish pros?

(20) Sergio: Well, they're not exactly pros, because me and Valentina are the best, the smartest in Spanish. They are mostly like "Spanish speakers." We are pro-Spanish speakers.

(21) Researcher:	OOH, so there are pro-Spanish speakers and Spanish speakers. Are there pro-English speakers?
(22) Sergio:	Yeah, some, like Tessa (inaudible), Max, and me, maybe.
(23) Researcher:	Max is a pro-English speaker?
(24) Sergio:	Well, he speaks a lot of English. A LOT, A LOT, A LOT and Steven, like me, I speak A LOT of English.
(25) Researcher:	But, does Max know Spanish too?
(26) Sergio:	A little bit, like some.
(27) Researcher:	Ok. So is he an English-speaker?
(28) Sergio:	Yeah

Sergio described, in detail, an understood hierarchy of language and power already tied to the students' academic identities in their 2nd grade classroom. The discussion in the transcript above occurred just after we watched a video of Sergio from when he was in kindergarten (see Excerpt 23 in Chapter 7). He and I were discussing who his current bilingual partners were in second grade and what role they each played. Sergio then used language labels to describe who the "bilingual pros," the "Spanish pros," the "English pros," and the "Spanish speakers" are in his classroom. The words "pro'" and "expert" were used interchangeably. It is worth noting Sergio's particular comment when he

described or aligned that the "most" bilingual speakers are also the "smartest" in the classroom.

Bucholtz and Hall (2008) described social categories such as, race and ethnicity, as "embedded within systems of social inequality" and influenced by the way individuals enact their sense of agency. Sergio also mentioned that those who "speak Spanish and were born in México" are simply "Spanish speakers." He goes on to list first- and second-generation Mexican immigrant backgrounds as "Spanish speakers," but not "pro' Spanish speakers." In doing this, Sergio essentially pinpoints the intersection of language and ethnicity that was playing out in the TWDL program; an intersection that is a reflection of larger societal inequities experienced by minoritized language communities. Specifically, this interview reflected the larger societal discourses about immigrant and emerging bilingual children like Elizabeth, who came from Spanish-speaking and/or bilingual homes. Scholars have examined "smartness" as a social category that intersects with language, race, and class and that contributes to the positioning of children in hierarchal ways (McDermott and Varenne, 1995).

SECOND GRADE: TEACHER'S PERSPECTIVES ON BILINGUAL LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT: A PROTECTED SPACE FOR "STANDARD" SPANISH.

Teacher Profile

Ms. Contreras

Three-fourths of Ms. Contreras's classroom consisted of seven rectangular tables where students were seated in groups of 3-4. The other fourth of the room contained a rug where children would gather for whole-group lessons. Along the perimeter of the room, there were the usual typical classroom decorations and supplies, such as two dry erase boards that took up an entire wall opposite the tables, a bilingual word wall, several bookshelves filled with books, and, alongside the bookshelves, a chart where a student's mood and behavior were noted. Next to the dry erase board, Ms. Contreras posted the daily schedule as it related to content areas, the names of bilingual partners and how they would rotate on any given day through the bilingual learning centers, and a weather and monthly calendar. On the days that I observed the children, they were mostly at their desks listening to a whole-group lesson, and were participating as requested by raising their hand if they wanted to speak. Students in Ms. Contreras's class were allowed to translate for one another or repeat whatever was said in Spanish when participating during a lesson. English, however, was not allowed for public use. Meanwhile, Ms. Contreras would either lead the whole-class lesson or sit at her desk, which was in a corner at the front of the class and from which Ms. Contreras had a clear view of all the students in class. Ms. Contreras spoke in a monotone voice and was very serious most of

the time. She never raised her voice, but her students knew she deducted seconds or minutes from their recess time if they were not listening to her while she was speaking.

Ms. Contreras is bilingual and Latina. She was born and raised in Monterrey, México and immigrated to the United States when she was in 6th grade. She completed middle school, high school, and college in the U.S. In 2010, she graduated as a certified bilingual teacher from a nearby university-based teacher preparation program. This was her 2nd year as a classroom teacher working in a dual language program. She was the designated Spanish Language Arts teacher for the 2nd grade students. She strongly identified as the Spanish Language Arts Teacher. When commenting on her use of Spanish in the classroom, she stated, "I try to do as much Spanish because that's what I am there for. I am their Spanish Language Arts teacher, so I am putting as much as I can to fully create this dual language in my classroom." (Interview, 5/7/13) Ms. Contreras also identified as someone who was still learning another language. During an interview (5/7/13) she said, "Well, you know, I'm learning every day. There's words that I still have to look up and you know pronunciation. It's a work in progress."

During the weeks I was observing in Ms. Contreras' classroom, she had a student teacher named Ms. Hidalgo. Ms. Hidalgo mirrored Ms. Contreras's teaching practices; for example, she too spoke in Spanish nearly 100% of the time, and she deducted minutes from recess time if students were talking when they should be listening (Field Notes, March 19, 2013). Ms. Hidalgo had immigrated to Central Texas from México as a teenager and had attended the local public schools. During her internship, she was studying at a local university to become a certified bilingual teacher. Ms. Hidalgo

reminded students to speak in Spanish when volunteering responses to a whole-class lesson. Unlike Ms. Contreras, Ms. Hidalgo did use "non-standard" Spanish terms like "carpeta" and "rooferos" (Field Notes, 3/19/13). Additionally, during a read aloud, if students asked a question or made a comment in English, Ms. Hidalgo would respond, even though she herself rarely used English.

Mrs. Epett

One of the other 2nd grade teachers, Mrs. Epett, is bilingual and Latina. She was originally from a large, metropolitan city in Texas. She graduated as a certified bilingual teacher from a nearby university-based teacher preparation program. Like two of the other teachers profiled in this study, Mrs. Ontivero in kindergarten and Mrs. Morales in 3rd grade, Mrs. Epett had her own children participating in the TWDL program at Hillside Elementary. She had been observed by graduate student-researchers over the course of 3 different years (Zúñiga, Palmer, & Roser, 2013, García-Mateus, 2012, Dougherty, 2013). Each graduate student noticed that Mrs. Epett mostly spoke in English; a practice that placed greater value on knowing and speaking English. During her Spanish Language Arts period, she struggled with using Spanish as the language of instruction (see Table 3 in Chapter 1). She explained that the students who had been placed as part of the English-language cohort in kindergarten and 1st grade did not seem to grasp what she was saying (Interview, Spring, 2013). Because of this, Mrs. Epett was observed using mostly, if not all, English in the classroom.

Data

The data for this chapter includes video and audio recordings of five observations of whole class lessons in Ms. Contreras's classroom, as well as 5 focal student interviews over a period of 5 weeks in spring 2013. As mentioned earlier, after noticing that Mrs. Epett, a designated Spanish teacher, was solely speaking in English and was not encouraging students to use Spanish during whole class lessons, I decided to collect data in Ms. Contreras's classroom.

Language Learning

When I collected data during the second grade school year, the students were divided between three teachers, whereas in the previous two years, they had been divided between 2 classroom teachers. During 2nd grade the program model calls for both English and Spanish to be used in reading and language arts instruction (see Table 3 in Chapter 1). The students rotated between the three teachers in order to get their Language Arts instruction in both languages. Ms. Contreras taught rotations in Spanish, Mrs. Epett taught one group in English and another in Spanish since it was her designated Spanish group. That is, Ms. Epett was supposed to teach Spanish Language Arts to one group of students and English Language Arts to another group, but since she spoke primarily in English she did not really distinguish these two groups. A third teacher for 2nd grade, who is not included in this study because none of the eight focal students spent significant time in her classroom, taught her rotation of students in English. In fact, she was not bilingual and did not ever teach in Spanish. In Mrs. Epett's classroom, during

Language Arts interactions, moving toward English became a larger focus than developing the students' Spanish-language proficiency. In contrast to Mrs. Epett, Ms. Contreras's Language Arts lessons were conducted in Spanish. She encouraged the use of Spanish by asking students to translate for one another if they didn't know the answer in Spanish. That is to say, the figured world of language practices was much stricter in terms of enforcement of the use of Spanish in Ms. Contreras classroom compared to the other classrooms in this study. In Ms. Contreras's classroom, Spanish was the expectation; however, she also believed the model was not a right fit for the younger student population at Hillside Elementary (Interview, May 7, 2013). For example, when describing her first year as a teacher, which happened to also be for the TWDL program, Ms. Contreras says:

Excerpt 4: Navigating the Two-Way Dual Language Model.

> ***(1) Ms. Contreras**:* It was difficult when you are speaking in a language that they don't understand cause for me I did Language Arts in English in kinder, but the part where I would be teaching in Spanish was the Science/Social Studies, and being at that younger age the students would just get distracted really easily cause they were not understanding, umm, they were not helping each other as far as bilingual partners because it's a new area that they are exploring even for Spanish-speakers that its hard for them to share with the rest versus

if they knew the content they could easily share it, but it was new to them so, that made it hard. Jumping to 2nd grade I have a little bit more of a variety, you know, of Spanish-speakers and, umm, they seem to be cooperating and helping each other a little more, umm, which is,…..

(2) Researcher: You also have the original cohort, the kids that were in kindergarten when it started.

(3) Ms. Contreras: Right, which are the ones that are my helpers.

(4) Researcher: What do you think about the 2 different models? What are your impressions? Do you have a preference?

(5) Ms. Contreras: Well, I have always, well, the 2 years that I have been here it's been TWDL. I'm not familiar with one-way too much. I heard that it works great because you are able to keep your students and you are able to target them rather than all the switching and losing time with transitions. I do feel like it is a lot of time being wasted with the transitions. I was able to accomplish a little more when I was in kinder having my own class. If I needed an extra 5 minutes to finish an activity I was able to here…it's just a different experience as I said.

Ms. Contreras voiced her concern about the design of the TWDL model. She felt that switching between teachers wasted a lot of instructional time. She also seems to be

establishing herself as a novice teacher when she describes how she felt about pre-kindergarten students participating in a TWDL program. Ms. Contreras attributed their lack of understanding or willingness to participate to their young age. Perhaps a TWDL is too structured for 4-year-olds. Ms. Contreras explained towards the end of the interview that she never expected that asking children to translate for one another was going to take as long as it did. .

Co-construction of Identity: The Academic and Biliterate Development of a Diverse Group of Students.

In this section, I explored the way in which Ms. Contreras's and her student teacher, Ms. Hidalgo's, language practices contributed to the co-construction of identity during the 2nd grade year of the TWDL program. It might be said that Ms. Contreras adopted a militant approach to her role as the Spanish Language Arts teacher. She believed in fidelity to the model and a careful enforcement of a space for Spanish language development, as such, she felt it was her duty to speak in Spanish nearly 100% of the time. The excerpts below are representations of the type of dialogues that took place in Ms. Contreras' classroom. That is to say, Mrs. Contreras' approach to language learning created a classroom climate where the use of "standard" Spanish was highly emphasized, therefore code switching and translating, as will be discussed, were used by the students if they did not know how to say the word in the target language.

Ms. Hidalgo and the Co-construction of Identity

The first excerpt in the section below includes Ms. Hidalgo, Elizabeth, Mara (who was new to the TWDL program this year and had little previous experience with Spanish), Valentina, and other students in a whole-class lesson. At the time, the students were seated in groups of 3-4 per table. Mara was seated with Valentina, Elizabeth, and a male student, who is not visible in the video. Ms. Hidalgo was teaching and modeling a standard procedure used by Ms. Contreras to teach vocabulary. The standard procedure included Ms. Hidalgo stating the vocabulary word, asking for the English translation from students, and then asking for sample sentences that used the vocabulary word. Ms. Hidalgo had just finished asking students what the word "hair" meant and had asked students to show her with their hands. The students touched their heads and, in sync, said, "*¡aquí!* / here!" Upon glancing around the room, Ms. Hidalgo noticed that Mara had not responded. When she called on Mara, the following exchanges emerged:

Excerpt 5: In Chile, they call it *pelo*./In Chile, they call it hair.

(1) Ms. Hidalgo, enunciating: *Mara, ¿qué es tu cabello? ¿Dónde está tu cabello*?*¿Dón-de es-tah tu ca-be-llo?/*Mara, what is your hair? Where is your hair? Where…is…your…hair?

(2) Elizabeth and others, translating:
Where is your hair?

(3) Other students, looking at Mara:
Right here!

(4) Mara, touching her hair: I know where my hair is!

(5) Ms. Hidalgo: *Toca tu cabello. Toca tu cabello./*Touch your hair. Touch your hair.

(6) Mara, sounding annoyed: I'm touching my hair.

(7) Ms. Hidalgo: *Éso es tu cabello./*That is your hair.

(8) Sergio: In Chile, they call it *pelo*. [Spanish Varieties]/In Chile, they call it hair.

(9) Ms. Hidalgo: *También se dice pelo./*You can also say hair.

(10) Elizabeth: *Tengo una oración*./I have a sentence.

(11) Ms. Hidalgo: *A ver, Elizabeth, una oración./*Let's see, Elizabeth, a sentence.

(12) Elizabeth: *Me gusta mi cabello./*I like my hair.

[Other students begin to share their responses]

(13) Jason: *Mi cabello es negro./*My hair is black.

(14) Tessa, code switching: *Mi cabello* is curly./My hair is curly.

(15) Ms. Hidalgo, supplying the word for Tessa:

Okay, *¿tu cabello es qué?/*Okay, your hair is what?

(16) Jason: *Chino*./Curly.

(17) Ms. Hidalgo: *…o ondulado./*or curly.

(18) Valentina: *Mi cabello es liso./*My hair is straight.

(19) Ms. Hidalgo, enunciating to Mara:

*¿Cómo es tu cabello? ¿Có-mo es tu cabello?/*What is your hair like?

What…is…your…hair…like?

(20) Other student, translating:

How is your hair?

(21) Mara: What?

(22) Other students: How is your hair?

(23) Ms. Hidalgo:	*Liso, tu cabello es liso. Ahora, dime./*Straight, your hair is straight. Now you can repeat it.
(24) Mara:	I don't know Spanish.
(25) Ms. Hidalgo:	*Dime, mi cabello es liso./*Say, my hair is straight.
(26) Other student to Mara:	That is not what she is asking you.

In the preceding transcript, Ms. Hidalgo spoke entirely in Spanish with students and by doing this she was implementing what the TWDL program required: the designated use of the target language, Spanish. She also placed value on speaking "standard" Spanish and encouraged students to do the same. For example, when Tessa code switched, saying, *Mi cabello* is curly*,"* Ms. Hidalgo asked for a Spanish translation of the word curly. Ms. Hidalgo continued to validate the use of "standard" varieties of Spanish by accepting Sergio's translation of the word *pelo* to describe hair in what he referred to as Chilean Spanish. The clear message she sent to students is that her class was a "Spanish only space" and, during instructional time, speaking the non-target language, English, in whatever forms that may take, whether a lexical code switch or speaking entirely in English, was worthy of correction.

In the same video excerpt, Ms. Hidalgo moved on to the next word, *chicas*. She wrote it on the board. Ms. Hidalgo asked what the word meant in English. Several hands were raised. Elizabeth and other students shouted out sentences using the word *chicas,* such as: "*Las chicas son muy preciosas / "* or "*Las chicas son muy elegantes /"*The girls are very pretty" or "The girls are very elegant." When Ms. Hidalgo prompted Elizabeth to

tell the meaning of the word *chicas*, Elizabeth responded, "*Son como mujeres, niñas…/* They're like women, girls…*"* and Tessa adds, "or they are small.... as in small things or people.*"* A few of the students giggled, which sparked Mara's curiosity, and she expressed the following:

Excerpt 6: I am not bilingual. I don't know what we are talking about.

(1) Mara, furrowing her brows and speaking to her group:

What are we talking about? What are we talking about?

(2) Mara, turning to her bilingual partner:

What are we talking about? You are supposed to tell me.

(3) Ms. Hidalgo, code switching:

So, *¿qué significa chicas?/*So, what does ladies mean?

(4) Mara: I am not bilingual. I don't know what we are talking about.

(5) Valentina, to the class:

*Son muy chiquitas cosas o son niñas./*It can mean small things or girls.

(6) Other students:

Eww.

(7) Mara, responding to the class:

Eww! What is gross?

(8) Mara, turning to the table next to hers:

Excuse me, what is gross?

[Student from other table says something inaudible]

(9) Mara: …a what? I want to know Spanish, too.

(10) Valentina, trying to get Mara and her partner, X, to stop talking:

Mara, Roberto!

(11) Mara: He won't tell me what she is saying.

(12) Ms. Hidalgo:

Nadie debe estar tocando…ni los lápices./ No one should be touching anything…not even the pencils.

(13) Mara: What is she saying?

(14) Ms. Hidalgo:

…*ni los cuadernos*. /…not even the notebooks.

(15) Mara, looking at Elizabeth and Valentina:

He won't tell me.

(16) Valentina, to Mara:

You *can* understand.

(17) Mara: No, I can't.

(18) Valentina:

You can try.

(19) Mara: I do try.

In the conversation above, Mara pleaded with her table to share with her what the class was talking about; but, since no one responded, she turned to her bilingual partner and demanded that he tell her. To her disappointment, no one responded. In an earlier interview with Mrs. Epett, who was one of the 2nd grade teachers, stated that Mara was difficult to work with and that she had gone through several bilingual partners (Interview, Spring, 2013). Nevertheless, the lesson proceeded. Ms. Hidalgo asked again, "*So, ¿qué significa chicas /"*So, what does 'ladies' mean*?*" Mara continued to make her plea to her group by saying, "I want to know Spanish, too. I don't know what we are talking about." Although Mara seemed emotionally bothered about not understanding what was being discussed, Ms. Hidalgo refused to accept her English utterances or speak English herself to help Mara understand.

A new English-speaking student, like Mara, in a TWDL program during the 2nd grade year is atypical; guidelines generally do not recommend allowing English-only speaking children to join TWDL programs after first grade (Lindholm-Leary, 2005). In fact, this is structurally part of the challenge for TWDL teachers. If they strictly maintain the separation of language in their instruction, they leave children, like Mara, out. If they are not strict about the language of instruction, children do not get to develop their proficiency in Spanish.

The strategies Ms. Hidalgo utilized to try and bridge understanding for Mara included repeating her Spanish utterance, speaking slower, enunciating her words, and allowing other students in the class to translate for Mara. It is of note that these kind of strategies are usually combined with others, and, at times children will be a little confused. Ms. Hidalgo's use of language learning strategies positioned students like Mara as limited in their linguistic contribution to a simple lesson about vocabulary. Because Mara understood some Spanish (as evidenced in the transcripts below), but she could not verbalize her thoughts in Spanish, she was positioned by her peers and by her teacher as someone who was not "trying hard enough." Mara's status as an emerging bilingual, who could also be referred to as a receptive bilingual, like many of our heritage Spanish-English bilinguals, was not valued in this classroom. What was valued was a student with a firm foundation in Spanish or a more "balanced" bilingual who could express herself during an academic lesson in either one language or the other, depending on the language of instruction.

Again, it seemed like the contributions of the students using both languages at the same time, or using the non-target language were not valued as highly as the "standard" Spanish contributions. It is important to acknowledge that both Ms. Epett and Mrs. Contreras were trying to deal with a situation they had not really encountered before, with little guidance from the district bilingual office and a principal who had not encountered the TWDL model before. What do you do if you are charged with the academic and biliterate development of such a diverse group? Ms. Epett's answer was to revert to the traditional bilingual education model where she had experience with a mixed-class scenario. This was a model she had dealt with for years already. Ms. Contreras answer was "fidelity." Neither response was truly supportive of emergent or primary bilinguals, but it is not simple.

When Mara exclaimed that she does not know what they are talking about because she is not "bilingual," she is inadvertently making a claim about the status "monolingual" speakers have in this TWDL program. It is important to note that during my first year of data collection and after examining the discourse during the kindergarten year, I found that being bilingual carried a great deal of status (Mateus, 2014). Monolinguals, whether Spanish or English speakers, did not have as strong of a voice as English-Spanish bilinguals; specifically, in the way in which language learning was being supported or implemented in this second grade classroom, as it also had been during the kindergarten year. The lesson continued, and when the class responds to Valentina's translation of what *chicas* meant, perhaps reminding them of the word *chichi,* or boobs in English, initially the class responds with "Eww." At that point, Mara seems more

frustrated with not understanding Spanish. She exclaimed, “What is gross?” When no one from her table responded, she turned to another table next to hers and said, “Excuse me. What is gross?” The students at the other table responded, but Mara couldn’t hear them. This prompted her to exclaim, “I want to know Spanish, too!” With all the commotion in class as the students shouted “Eww,” Ms. Hidalgo tried to proceed with the lesson. Mara pleaded for others in the class to translate for her. Valentina and Ms. Hidalgo tried to get the class to settle down. Valentina stated Mara’s name in a tone that begged Mara to please stop talking. Ms. Hidalgo reminded the class that no one is supposed to be touching their pencils or their journals, and that all should instead listen or raise their hands. Meanwhile, Mara continued to fail to understand the Spanish being spoken in class and pleaded for translations. She explained to Valentina that her partner would not tell her what the class was talking about, and she asked Valentina to tell her what Ms. Hidalgo was *now* saying. At that point, Valentina finally responded to Mara, but only to express that she thought Mara really did know Spanish, saying, “You *can* understand.” Interestingly, Valentina did not say, “You *do* understand,” which would mean that, at that very moment, Mara is bilingual. Instead she said, “You *can* understand,” which implied that Mara has the potential to understand; that she arrived at school equipped to understand.

Spoken of earlier, this was Mara’s first year in the TWDL program. It is worth recalling that she does come from a bilingual home, her father speaks English and Latvian (not Spanish). In one of my interviews with Mara, she expressed her interest in becoming bilingual, but said that she would rather it be another language, like French,

[quote] and not Spanish (Interview, 3/20/13). That is to say, it could be that students in the class had sensed Mara's negative attitude toward learning Spanish and were responding to her attitude. The way in which the classroom teacher(s) positioned language learning and language learners in this second grade classroom contributed to the kinds of discussions students participated in during lessons or during partner/group work. More specifically, Mara's negative attitude toward Spanish could also be a result of her awareness of being excluded from Spanish conversations during lessons that mandated the use of Spanish by the teacher. Moments like those reflected in the preceding transcript clearly frustrated Mara. As such, she was not shy about verbalizing what she thought or felt. In this particular lesson, Ms. Hidalgo, the student teacher, adopted the same approach as always during a Language Arts lesson. She systematically introduced and then asked questions about vocabulary words. With such an approach, the children who volunteered responses needed a certain "command" of Spanish or, as Mara believed, they needed to be bilingual to participate and to understand the lesson. Towards the end of this same lesson, another student from a different table added to the claim that Mara "*can understand*":

Excerpt 7: *No, español.* What does that mean?

(1) Student from another table:
No, español. What does that mean?/No, Spanish. What does…
(2) Mara: No, Spanish?
(3) Same student:
Exactly.

(4) Another student:

See, you *can* understand it.

(5) Mara: What?

(6) Valentina: You need to try hard enough.

(7) Mara: I do try hard enough.

Mara's peers did not position her as a student who did not understand Spanish; instead, they positioned her as one who did not "try hard enough." Ms. Contreras and Ms. Hidalgo enacted their philosophy towards their students that one can learn language. Mara's peers tested her sense of bilingualism by asking her simple questions in Spanish and then asking her to translate these. Mara did so successfully. It is of interest to note that, in this example, although the classroom teacher placed greater value on speaking the target language during instructional lessons, students in the class, unconsciously, were positioning Mara as a receptive bilingual.

Ms. Contreras Co-constructing Identity: Students as Language Resources in the Sheltered Spanish Classroom.

As stated previously, the student teacher, Ms. Hidalgo employed strategies for teaching in Spanish that closely reflected those of the classroom teacher. Below is an example of the ways in which Ms. Contreras supported language learning and the construction of identity. Ms. Contreras's strategies for sheltering Spanish instruction included speaking slower, enunciating sentences, limited body language, and also included the use of repetition reminiscent of rote-based learning. As mentioned earlier, Ms. Contreras taught kindergarten the previous year. It is also important to reiterate that

Ms. Contreras was in her 2nd year as a teacher when I gathered my data in her classroom. Thus, she was still refining her expertise as a classroom teacher. The following paragraphs provide an example of the sort of dialogue that occurred between Ms. Contreras and her students during a Language Arts lesson.

The following conversation took place after a lesson, which is reminiscent of the kinds of "letter recognition" and vocabulary work a group of students who are just learning Spanish literacy for the first time (coming from English) would be learning. This is a reasonable lesson, as "H" is one of the primary differences between English and Spanish. But, of course, for the Spanish-speaking students this lesson is completely inappropriate at second grade. Ms. Contreras asked students, "*¿Qué sonido hace la letra H* / What sound does the letter H make?" After the class responded by making the "H" sound in English, Ms. Contreras reminded them that it does not have a sound in Spanish. She explained that no matter where the letter "H" is in a Spanish word, it does not make a sound. She then went on to ask students to list words that have the letter "H" in Spanish, and translate to English as per the instructions, such as: *hora* (hour), *ahora* (now), *cómo* (how), and *hipopótamo* (hippopotamus). Students were also asked to spell out words while Ms. Contreras wrote them on the board. Another student offers, *hoy* (today)*; zanahoria* (carrot)*; hielo* (ice)*, que significa* 'ice;' *huevo* (egg)*; hablar* (talk)*; horizonte* (horizon)*; haba* (bean), y *hierro* (iron). During the lesson, students were reminded of orthographic rules when spelling out words, such as the way the /h/ never makes a sound unless it comes after /a/, /c/, as in /ch/.

Students were then given a worksheet focusing on the letter /h/ where they were asked to complete with their bilingual partner by writing a sentence in Spanish for each of the 6 words listed. Ms. Contreras had asked the designated Spanish-speaker in the bilingual pair to translate the word and the sentence their partner wanted to write in Spanish using the vocabulary words. The Spanish-speaker or Spanish dominant partner had to help the English-speaker formulate a Spanish sentence of their choosing. During the partner activity, I spoke with Elizabeth and Mara about the assignment:

Excerpt 8: Bilingual Partners as Language Resouces. Part I.

(1) Mara, pointing to the first vocabulary word on the list:

What does this mean?

(2) Elizabeth, translating:

Helado. Helado means ice cream./Ice cream.

[Mara starts to write.]

(3) Elizabeth, looking at Mara writing the word in English:

Do you have to translate it, Susana?

(4) Researcher:

*Sí, tienes que escribir lo que significa cada palabra./*Yes, you are supposed to write what each word means.

(5) Elizabeth, pointing to Mara's paper:

BUT, do you have to translate it?

(6) Researcher, noticing Mara's written translation:

*No importa; está bien. Ella necesita (escribirlo) para saber lo que significa./*It doesn't matter; it's fine. She needs to write it out so she can know what it means.

[Meanwhile, Mara walks away from the table.]

(7) Researcher:

*Porque puede ser que no se va recordar porque hay varias palabras./*Because she may not remember since there are various words.

[Mara returns and begins to erase the English translation of *helado*.]

(8) Researcher:

You can leave the translated word there.

(9) Mara: I know. I just messed up.

(10) Mara, pointing to the next word and asking Elizabeth:

What does this mean?

[Mara erases her translated word.]

(11) Elizabeth, translating:

Zanahoria means carrot.

(12) Mara, saying the word while writing it down in English:

Carrot.

Elizabeth and Mara continued on like this for the rest of the words. Elizabeth was serving as a language resource model for Mara. In the transcript above, Elizabeth engaged in various translanguaguing practices with Mara and with me. She translated words for Mara from Spanish to English and understood the Spanish I was using to speak with her while responding to me in English. While Mara seemed to have messed up in some other way in the transcript above (perhaps she decided to erase the word and try writing again because she was not happy with her penmanship) students like her, primarily English-speaking, knew that their use of the non-target language would be dismissed. By erasing her English translation of the word *helado*, Mara could have also been responding to the clear message from Ms. Contreras and Ms. Hidalgo that this class was a Spanish-only zone. Mara understood this space as one where English was not allowed in that Ms.

Contreras did not respond to children's comments in English, only in Spanish. On the other hand, students, like Mara did use and speak English in this space. Although Mara did seek help from her designated Spanish partner, Elizabeth, to translate the meanings of words, she does not turn right around and write the translated Spanish word for *zanahoria*/carrot, for example.

The second part of the activity that day involved writing a sentence with each word. As these girls transitioned to the next part, they looked to me for guidance. Since Ms. Contreras had just explained what to do next in Spanish, I asked Elizabeth to translate the second part of the activity for Mara. When she told Mara that she had to use the vocabulary words in a sentence in Spanish, Mara suddenly pushed back from her seat and, hesitating, asked me: "Does it have to be in Spanish?" I confirmed the teacher's request and asked what she would like to say in Spanish. I told her to let Elizabeth know so that she could translate it for her. Mara said she wanted to write, "The leaf is green" in Spanish. With Elizabeth's help, she succeeded. In fact, Mara wrote "*La hoja*…/The leaf…" on her own while Elizabeth helped her spell "*es verde./* is green.*"* The girls continued translating back and forth and in the same fashion as they did with the first part of the activity. Elizabeth, who was also now writing her own sentences, asked, "What does *horizonte/*horizon mean?" I reminded her to ask her bilingual partner for help. Mara was excited to finally get to explain something she knew to her partner, as shown in the following exchange:

Excerpt 9: Bilingual Partners as Language Resources. Part II.

(1) Elizabeth, turning to Mara:

I don't know what horizon means.

(2) Mara, looking confused and thinking Elizabeth wanted the English translation, checked the list of words on the board:

Umm, you are saying it in English!

(3) Researcher:

No, she means….

(4) Mara, catching on quickly:

Oh…uh, horizon is like when you are on a mountain, and the sunset is coming down, and you look down at the ground; there is a big horizon. Like, like you know, how if you sit on a mountain and you look down at the ground, that's the horizon; if you are on a mountain, you say, I like how the horizon looks when the sun sets.

(5) Researcher, to Elizabeth:

Ahora, ¿qué es? ¿Me puedes decir en español qué es un horizonte?

(6) Elizabeth: *Un horizonte es cuando estás arriba de algo; entonces, el sol va abajo; entonces, dices, "Me gusta cómo se ve el sol."/*A horizon is when you are on top of something, and the sun goes down, and then you say, "I like the way the sun looks.

With minimal guidance on my part, Elizabeth and Mara were able to work together as bilingual partners. In fact, in the conversation above, Mara was finally able to be an expert in English by assisting her partner Elizabeth. When the teacher models and

encourages students to use each other's linguistic resources, perhaps students like Mara would also develop a more positive attitude toward minority languages, such as Spanish, and would therefore be able to see themselves as emerging bilinguals rather than as someone who did not "have" or "know" Spanish. Unfortunately, by rigidly adhering to the TWDL model, not only did Ms. Contreras miss opportunities to draw on her students' linguistics repertoires, but it seems that she also missed opportunities to develop in students like Mara positive cross-cultural attitudes (Reyes & Vallone, 2007) towards the Spanish language.

THIRD GRADE: STRUCTURES OF POWER AND ENTITLEMENT AND LANGUAGE LEARNING.

In the following section, I describe one of the 3rd grade teachers, Mrs. Morales, and the ways in which she positioned language learning and language learners in her classroom, as well as how she supported the co-construction of identity.

Teacher Profile

Walking into Mrs. Morales's classroom, the first thing visible were the 10 tables all pushed together to form five groups. Each table had 3-4 students seated together during whole-group lessons. Under each of the students' desks, there were standard Texas textbooks for Reading, Writing, and Math. In the front of the classroom, there was a dry erase board that took up most of the wall, as well as a projector that was used regularly, at least during the times I observed. Along the perimeter of the room, there were typical classroom decorations and supplies, such as a bilingual word wall, a list of

the bilingual partners in the classroom, bookshelves filled with books, instructions for the academic task at hand, and posted student work. On any given day, children were working with their bilingual partners at their designated tables, reading, or translating for each other during a whole-group lesson at their tables. Meanwhile, Mrs. Morales would either be leading a whole-class lesson or walking around the room to ask students questions about the academic task at hand. Mrs. Morales was consistent and firm in what she expected from students during a lesson or during group work. She never raised her voice when she wanted to redirect children about the academic focus of the lesson or how they should be behaving in class.

Mrs. Morales strongly identified as Chicana and as a heritage speaker of Spanish. She was also raising her children bilingually in Spanish and English. When I met Mrs. Morales, she had made a career change three years prior. She had been a social worker before becoming a bilingual classroom teacher. While she had been a student teacher at Hillside Elementary, she had gone through a respected, local, alternative certification program. After her student teaching at Hillside, she spent a year at another local elementary school, which was predominantly Latino and had a much larger percentage of emergent bilingual students. Her daughter entered the TWDL program at Hillside Elementary as a first grader in 2010; the program's first year of implementation. As such, Mrs. Morales had observed the demographic changes over the past four years as a parent and as a teacher. Mrs. Morales spoke primarily in Spanish during classroom interactions and instruction. Interestingly, she had taught the same students in kindergarten when she did her 3-month practicum as a student teacher (Interview, 12/17/13).

During my interview with Mrs. Morales, she voiced concerns about how the TWDL program had evolved, commenting, "What I see is that there are children that come from higher SES backgrounds that have mastered the 2nd language, Spanish, very well. A lot of them are also identified as gifted and talented students, and they don't seem to have a problem functioning in that model" (Interview, 12/17/13). She was disappointed, however, in the ways in which the program had essentially served the needs of European-American and 3rd generation plus/Latino students. For example, reflecting on her teaching of these same students in kindergarten in 2010, she described how her 1st and 2nd generation immigrant and *mexicano* students were more "proficient" in Spanish than some of her current students; students who now seem to surpass or are at the same level as the 1st and 2nd generation immigrant *mexicano* students' level of Spanish "proficiency" (see Table 4 in Chapter 4). In an interview (12/17/13), Mrs. Morales said, "When I taught them, and I taught the Spanish group, their Spanish was obviously way higher than the other group, and now those children often struggle more than the 'non-native' Spanish speakers." She found this extremely problematic and a disservice to the Chicano community; a community which once played a vital and active role in this small elementary school.

Data

By the 2013-2014 academic school year, the demographics at Hillside Elementary had changed dramatically (see Appendix: Table 4). An indicator of these changes included what I noticed on the 4th visit to Hillside Elementary in 2014; namely, that there

were parents dropping children off in luxury cars like a Fiat, Land Rover, or a Honda Odyssey (Field Notes, 12/5/13). During the 3rd grade year of data collection, the students were divided between 2 teachers. Video and audio recordings during the fall of 2013 included six weeks of whole-class lessons, or 11 lessons, during the Language Arts block in the morning for 1-2 hours, 1-2 times per week.

Language Learning

Language learning in Mrs. Morales's classroom was focused on Spanish; meanwhile, as the TWDL model requires, her partner, Ms. Hill, taught students in English during Reading, Language Arts, and Math. That is to say, by 3rd grade, all students receive equal instruction in both Spanish and English for Reading and Language Arts (see Table 3 in Chapter 1). With the exception of two children, all others in the 3rd grade Spanish cohort had been in the TWDL program since kindergarten, and Mrs. Morales considered all of them as bilingual resources for each other. The two exceptions, both new students who had not been there since kindergarten, included Juan Carlos, a Spanish-dominant speaker originally from México and María , a heritage speaker of Spanish from the local neighborhood. The students who were more proficient in English were placed with the English teacher, Ms. Hill, and those who were Spanish-dominant, or had stronger "bilingual abilities," were placed with the "Spanish" teacher, Mrs. Morales, which of course does not coincide with the normal way of integrating children in their classrooms in a TWDL program. Spanish -dominant students would spend the entire morning with Mrs. Morales focused on Reading/Language Arts, Science, and Social

Studies in Spanish. Then, after lunch, they would go to the English teacher for Math and Reading/Language Arts in English while the English- dominant students would spend the afternoon with Mrs. Morales for Reading/Language Arts and Science in Spanish (see Table 3 in Chapter 1). This switch guaranteed that each group heard both languages every day, although they were never integrated. The students sat in groups of 3-4 students at separate round tables. According to Mrs. Morales, they did not get to choose where they sat. The teachers chose according to the students' "ability and language." Regarding the seating arrangements Mrs. Morales said, "....for me, I did it more based on ability, given that for me, it was more important that academic learning occurred rather than learning Spanish" (Electronic mail, 2/25/15). The following section includes an examination of the co-construction of identity and how language learning and language learners were positioned in 3rd grade.

Co-construction of Identity

Emerging Bilinguals: Learning as Unevenly Distributed.

A pattern that emerged in Mrs. Morales's classroom included the way in which emerging bilinguals like Cristóbal and Alejandro did not seem to have equal footing or request the same kind of attention from the teacher compared to other students (Field Notes: 11/5/13, 12/5/13, 12/9/13). The analysis below provides a reflection of the typical teacher-student attention patterns that were observed in this classroom during the 6 weeks of data collection. In the transcripts below about poems, teacher-student interactions are noted between Mrs. Morales, Valentina, Ellie, Fred, Tessa, Cristóbal and Alejandro.

Excerpt 10: Discussing Poems in a 3rd Grade Two-Way Dual Language Class.

(1) Fred: *Este poema tiene eee, umm, rima o personificación, umm, ¿escribe?/*This poem has personification, umm, write?

(2) Mrs. Morales: *No, vamos a hablar primero,* okay*? Estamos esperando/* No, we are going to talk first, okay?

[This was directed at students who needed to finish putting pencils, etc. away.]

(3) Ellie, raising her hand: *Tú dijiste que vamos hacer, umm, ciencias un poquito, ¿ vamos?/*You said we were going to do science for a little while, are we?

(4) Mrs. Morales: *Ahorita, no./*Not right now.

(5) Ellie: *No, umm, ¿de los libros?/*No, umm, from the books?

(6) Mrs. Morales: *Ahorita no./*Not right now.

(7) Ellie: Oh, okay.

(8) Ms. Morales: *Mañana./*Tomorrow.

(9) Ellie: Okay.

In the transcript above, Fred was asking for clarification about the task at hand and Ellie was wondering what they would be doing next. The exchange illustrated the typical use of Spanish by two students, Fred and Ellie, who started the program with "limited" Spanish, and who managed to be placed in the Spanish cohort of 3rd grade students. Both Fred and Ellie had, by this time, been in the TWDL program for 4 years. They were

confident in speaking Spanish, but struggled to conjugate verbs, such as *escribir/*write and already conjugated verbs like *vamos/*let's go*,* when asking for clarification about the task at hand, or asking what is to come next in a class activity. Scholars have examined how Spanish-dominant students' "limited English proficiency" may come with academic consequences, such as retention, if these students do not master English within a limited time frame (García, 2009; Bartlett & García, 2011; Valdes, 2001). Students such as Fred, Ellie, and Tessa, on the other hand, have been praised for speaking Spanish, even if limited, and positioned as model students in TWDL programs (Palmer, 2008; Potowski, 2007). Holland et al., (1997) describe positional identities as "one's position relative to socially identified others, one's sense of social place, and entitlement" (p. 125).

After answering Fred and Ellie's question, Mrs. Morales began the lesson by reading the poem entitled, *"Nada Más"* (Walsh, 1965). After reading the poem, she asked students to physically show her how many times they are supposed to read a poem. The class responded by raising both their hands. Mrs. Morales confirmed the number of times with more details, "*La primera vez es para leerlo, para a ver palabras que no saben, ¿la segunda vez? ¿Qué hacemos la segunda vez? ¿Valentina?"/"*The first round is to simply read the poem, to identify the words you don't know, the second round? What do we do during the second round? Valentina?" Valentina seemed a little unsure and responded with, *"Hacer una, umm, un dibujo."/*"To make a, umm, drawing." Mrs. Morales confirmed and added, *"Sí, a empezar a imaginar lo que ves, lo que el poeta te está tratando de crear en tu mente."/*"Yes, to begin to imagine what you see, what the poet is trying to get you to imagine in your head." Mrs. Morales read the poem for a

fourth time and asked students, "*Me gustaría que, por favor en sus mesas, tengan una conversación sobre, hay elementos que hemos hablado en este poema?"/*"I would like for you all to, please, at your tables, have a conversation about the characteristics that we have talked about in regards to poems." The students turned toward one another and began to talk about the poem's characteristics. At this point, I focused on one table where Juan Carlos, Cristóbal, and María were seated. Juan Carlos volunteered one characteristic while looking at his partner, María , and asked, *"Hay versos?"/"*Are there verses?" At the same time, Cristóbal looked at Juan Carlos and exclaimed, *"Una rima!"/*A rhyme!" Juan Carlos and María looked at the poem on the screen in front of the class to confirm. Cristóbal uttered the two words he thought rhymed, "*Mar y comprar."/*"Beach and buy" Juan Carlos and María began repeating, *"mar y comprar"* to decide whether the words rhymed or not when Mrs. Morales knelt down at their table. Juan Carlos tried to confirm with Mrs. Morales whether or not the two words rhymed, *"Mar y comprar. ¿Tiene rima?"/"*Beach and buy. Does it rhyme?" Without responding to his question Ms. Morales began the following dialogue with Cristóbal:

Excerpt 11: *¿Dónde está tu carpeta?/*Where is your foldable?

(1) Mrs. Morales, now speaking to Cristóbal:

*¿Dónde está tu carpeta?/*Where is your foldable?

[A foldable is used to identify and name characteristics of a poem].

(2) Mrs. Morales, noticing Cristóbal is not using it:

*Ábrela. Ábrela y léala. Para eso son./*Open it. Open and read it. That is what they are for.

(3) Juan Carlos: *Yo la tengo./*I have it.

(4) Mrs. Morales: *Sí, obviamente te veo y por eso, no te estoy diciendo a ti. Le estoy diciendo a él, ábrela, léala…que más se encuentra en este poema?/*Yes, obviously I can see that and that is why I am not asking you. I am asking him to open and read it…what else did you find in this poem?

[Ms. Morales walks to another table]

(5) María *:* *¡Hay estrofa!/*There's a verse.

Mrs. Morales arrived at these students' table and assumed Cristóbal was not on task. In fact, she focused on Cristóbal's behavior and what she perceived to be a lack of participation on his part because he was not using his foldable to discuss the poem. Interestingly, Cristóbal was the one who introduced to his group whether or not *mar y comprar/*beach and buy, rhymed, which then became the focus of the conversation. In this class it seemed that Mrs. Morales responded to certain ways of behaving and of communicating. For students like Cristóbal, who fell outside of this norm, there appeared to be tension. The tension was less evident in the actual discourse and more in Mrs. Morales and Crisotbal's tone of voice and body language. Mrs. Morales spoke sternly towards Cristóbal when she asked, *¿Dónde está tu carpeta?*/Where is your foldable? Cristóbal's body language was resistant in that he was moving slowly and rolling his eyes

while looking for his foldable. In the transcript below, Fred, Tessa, and Mrs. Morales continue to discuss the poem before reading it for a second time:

Excerpt 12: Characteristics of Poems.

(1) Fred: *Y el tercero es, umm, ¿es entiende?/*And the third is, umm, is [to] understand?

(2) Mrs. Morales:

Sí. El tercero ya es para empezar para entender la tema o los sentimientos que este poema me hace sentir. Okay, *lo vamos a leer otra vez./*Yes. The third round will be to understand the theme or what this poem makes us feel.

[Mrs. Morales reads the poem for a second time.]

(3) Mrs. Morales:

*¿Hay palabras que no saben que quieren decir? Umm, ¿Tessa?/*Are there words you do not understand or mean? Tessa?

(4) Tessa: *¿Moneda?/Coin?*

(5) Ms. Morales:

*Moneda. Sí, no sabes qué es moneda. Igual como en cualquier lectura vas a tratar de usar las otras palabras alrededor de la palabra y las otras oraciones./*Coin. Yes, you don't know what a coin is? Just like you do in any other reading, you are going to try

and use the words found around the word, coin, and the surrounding sentences.

[Ms. Morales reads poem for a third time.]

(6) Ms. Morales:

*¿Sabes que quiere decir comprar? Estoy hablando con Tessa. ¿Sí, sabes?/*Do you know what 'to buy' means? I am speaking with Tessa. You do know?

(7) Tessa: *Umm, cuando, como, si vayas a la tienda y, umm, agarras algo estás comprando./*Umm, when, like if you go to the store, and, umm, you grab something, you are buying it.

(8) Mrs. Morales:

*Y para poder llevarte esa cosa, ese objeto, a tu casa, ¿qué tienes que darle a la persona?/*And, so that you can take that thing, that object, to your house, what do you have to give the person?

(9) Tessa: Money.

(10) Mrs. Morales:

*Dinero. Una moneda es dinero, pero no es un billete, como un dólar es un billete de papel. Una moneda es el objeto que.../*Money. A coin is money, but it's not a bill, like a dollar is a bill made of paper. A coin is an object which…

(11) Tessa: Coins?

(12) Mrs. Morales:

*…que usas cuando no son billetes./..*you use when they are not bills.

The teacher's attention to children like Tessa or Fred, who walked into this classroom more familiar with participating in "academic" discourses positioned them in positive ways because they demanded more attention than students who did not walk in with the same "academic" discourses. One way she challenged students like them was by guiding them through the inquiry process about the task at hand. It should be noted that students like Tessa also sought out Mrs. Morales' attention by consistently volunteering in class and offering her thoughts and opinions. For example, in the previous transcript, Tessa exclaimed that she does not know what *monedas/*coins are in English. Mrs. Morales reminded her to do what she did during any other class reading, which was to use the words next to, above, or below the word she did not understand. Mrs. Morales then contextualized the use of *monedas/*coins for Tessa to guide her in figuring out the meaning behind the word. Tessa was able to decipher the meaning of the word and shared her understanding in Spanish by saying, "*Umm, cuando, como si vayas [vaz] a la tienda y, umm, agarras algo estas comprando* /"Umm, when, like you go to the store and, umm, you get something, you are also buying,*"* based on the context provided by Mrs. Morales. With continued guidance on Mrs. Morales's part, Tessa concluded that *monedas* meant coins. This sort of inquiry process based instruction was common between Mrs. Morales and students. In the following transcript Tessa, Cristóbal, and Mrs. Morales continued with the discussion of poems:

Excerpt 13: Identifying Words That Rhyme in Poems.

(1) Mrs. Morales [announces to class]:

Okay*, vamos a ver. ¿Qué encontraron. ¿Qué encontraron ustedes? Dime una cosa./*Okay, let's see. What did you all find? What did you all fine? Tell me one thing.

(2) Ellie: *Verso./*Verse.

(3) Mrs. Morales:

*Verso, bien. Ven, apúntame a un verso en este poema, por favor. Los demás están viendo para ver si agarraron información igual. Un verso./*Verses, good. Come here and point to a verse in this poem, please. The rest are watching to see if they picked the same information. A verse.

(4) Ellie [motions with arms and hands to indicate the entire verse on the screen.]

(5) Mrs. Morales:

*¿Cuántos versos hay en este poema? Enséñame con sus dedos./*How many verses are there in this poem? Show me using your fingers.

[Classmates raise fingers and Mrs. Morales walks up to the screen to count a total of 8 verses.]

(6) Mrs. Morales: *Tessa, ¿qué más encontraron?/*Tessa, what else did you all find?

(7) Tessa: *Rimas./*Rhymes.

(8) Mrs. Morales: *Rimas.* Enséñame *dónde hay rimas./*Rhymes. Show me where there are rhymes.

[Tessa walks up to the poem on the screen.]

(9) Mrs. Morales: *Los ojos acá, enfrente, boca callada. Cristóbal, por favor párate o siéntate. Tú decidas.* [Cristóbal sits down] *Gracias./*Eyes over here, towards the front, mouth shut. Cristóbal, please, stand or sit. You decide.

(10) Tessa [points to words on screen]:

*Mar y comprar./*Beach and buy.

(11) Mrs. Morales: *Mar y comprar. ¿Todos están de acuerdo con eso?/*Beach and buy. Does everybody agree with that?

(12) Class [in sync]: S*í./*Yes.

(13) Mrs. Morales: *¿Hay algo más que rima? ¿Alejandro?/*Is there anything else that rhymes? Alejandro?

(14) Alejandro: *¿Viento y cielo?/*Wind and sky?

(15) Ms. Morales: *¿Cuál, y cielo?/*Wind and sky?

(16) Alejandro: *¿Viento y cielo?/*Wind and sky?

(17) Another student:

*Kilo y cielo./*Kilo and sky.

(18) Mrs. Morales: Okay*, escuchen. Cuando vemos rimas, vamos a ver rimas al final del verso. No una aquí y una acá* (sporadically pointing to different places on the poem). *Rima va ser al final del verso y van a ver patrones. Primero, no más quiero que se pongan a gusto con lo* q*ue es rima. Entiendan eso, que la rima no va encontrar ésta con ésta* (sporadically pointing to poem on screen again) *o ésta con ésta. Se encuentra al final del verso.* Okay*? A ver, vamos a decirlo despacio./* Okay, listen everyone. When we see rhymes, we will see them at the end of a verse. Not here, nor here. The rhyme will be at the end of a verse and there will be patterns. First, I just want you to familiarize yourself with what makes up a rhyme. Do you all understand that? Rhymes will not be paired up with this one, nor this one. They are found at the end of a verse, okay? Let's see, let's say it all slowly.

[Mrs. Morales reads the poem for the 5th time.]

(19) Mrs. Morales: *Comprar, mar. ¿Verdad?/*Buy, beach. Right?

(20) A student: *Sí./*Yes.

(21) Mrs. Morales: *¿Comprar, cielo?/ Buy, sky?*

(22) Class: *No./*No.

(23) Mrs. Morales: Sig*ue: mar y comprar/*Keep going: beach and buy.

[Mrs. Morales reads the rest of the poem.]

During the 14 minutes of video and audio recording, Fred, Ellie, Valentina, Tessa, Cristóbal, and Alejandro verbally participated. Cristóbal raised his hand at least once for a chance to speak. During the 11 observations, one thing I noticed about Mrs. Morales's interactions with Cristóbal or Alejandro was that there seemed to be some tension between the teacher and the boys; in particular, tension with Cristóbal. For example, the second interaction Mrs. Morales had with Crisotbal during the lesson on poems she asked him, with a stern tone, to choose whether or not he is going to sit or stand. Mrs. Morales was struggling to connect with Cristóbal. That is, the figured world of bilingualism for Cristóbal looked very different than it did for other students, like Tessa, in this 3rd grade classroom. Potowski (2007) described the difference between L1 and L2 students' participation patterns in a dual language immersion program as "the right to speak" not being evenly distributed. In her study she found that L2 students were selected to speak more often than L1 students. In another study, McKay and Wong (1996) found that this idea of the "uneven distribu[tion] to speak" was something immigrant students noticed while at the same time negotiating their identities. In this particular lesson Cristóbal's behavior was the focus during discussions about an academic task and for Tessa the focus remained on academic content. The following section describes the ways in which Mrs. Morales and her students used Spanish and English to construct meaning.

Co-construction of Identity: Using Spanish and English to Construct Meaning

In this section, I examine how Spanish and English were used during whole-class instruction to negotiate and construct meaning and to note teacher-student and student-student interactions. As mentioned, there are a total of 11 whole-class video and audio recordings. The following sections include a close examination of two findings. The first includes how Spanish and English were used to construct meaning, and in the second I examine the attention the teacher gives to the students who started the TWDL program four years ago. The examples below specifically illustrate how Mrs. Morales supported students and the co-construction of identity in her classroom.

In the following transcript, Ms. Morales has just read aloud a poem and has asked students to identify words in the poem that rhyme: Tonia, Alejandro, Cristóbal, and the researcher are using Spanish and English to decide whether "*hablar" and "llorar*" are words that rhyme.

Excerpt 14: Let's see if there's a *rima./*Let's see if there's a rhyme.

(1) Tonia: Let's see if there's a *rima*./Let's see if there's a rhyme.

(2) Alejandro [to me]:

Is there *rima* with *hablar and llorar*? Is that *rima*?/Is there a rhyme with talk and cry? Is that a rhyme?

(3) Cristóbal [trying to see if they rhyme]:

Hablar, llorar./Talk and cry.

(4) Researcher: Sounds like it.

(5) Cristóbal: YES.

In the conversation above, Tonia made a lexical code switch using a word, *rima /* rhyme*,* which was central to the lesson about words that rhyme in a poem. Alejandro responded to Tonia by code switching as well when he said, "Is there *rima* with *hablar* and *llorar*? Is that *rima*?" Lexical code switching was common in this classroom. During third grade, code switching occurred at the lexical level, such as in the conversation above about rhyming. Intersentential CS, or lexical switches, are single-word insertions and switching languages between sentences; both of which are more common among early childhood bilinguals or language learners. Students in this class were observed intersententially code switching to construct meaning, as in the conversation above, and using CS as a "crutch," which I will discuss below.

The attention Mrs. Morales gave students contributed to the kinds of identities students co-constructed. Mrs. Morales seemed to give attention that was focused on academics *or* attention that was focused on behavior, depending on the student she was interacting with during a lesson. In the preceding lesson, the class continued to identify and discuss at their tables words that did or did not rhyme and why. During the discussion, a debate emerged about whether or not the words *hablar* and *llorar* actually rhyme. Mrs. Morales approached me and asked, herself code switching at the lexical level like the students had, "It doesn't sound like *hablar* and *llorar* rhyme, right?" I responded by letting her know that the same conversation just occurred at the table where I was recording. Tonia, Alejandro, and Cristóbal and I had decided that they do rhyme because they sound alike. She continued the lesson by addressing the debate about

whether *hablar* and *llorar* were words that rhyme. In the following transcript, Mrs. Morales addressed the debate about whether or not *hablar* and *llorar* are words that rhyme.

Excerpt 15: *Voy a consultar* with *a Spanish Expert.*

(1) Mrs. Morales: Alright. *5, 4, 3, 2, 1. La rima no puede estar en el mismo verso. Cuando es una rima, va a estar en un verso al otro. Hasta puede ser así* (pointing to screen), *o así, y éstos o éstos. O estas dos. O estas dos. Pero rimas no van a existir en el* mismo *verso*. Okay? Okay. *Vamos primero a comenzar con la pregunta que tienen todos. ¿Rima? ¿Hablar y llorar?/*The rhyme cannot be in the same verse. When there is a rhyme, it will be in one verse or another. It can even be like this, or like this, like these and these. Or these two. Or these two. But rhyme will not exist in the same verse. Okay? Okay. Let's begin with the question everyone has. Does they rhyme? Talk and cry?

(2) Class [together]: *Síií.*/Yes.

(3) Mrs. Morales: *Primo, pepino.*/Cousin, cucumber.

(4) Class: *Sí.*/Yes.

(5) Mrs. Morales: *No rima* [pointing to *hablar* and *llorar*]./They don't rhyme.

(6) Tessa: Yeah, it does! Because it ends with the same letters (pointing to screen) and it sounds the same.

(7) Mrs. Morales: *Hablar, llorar.*/Talk, cry.

(8) Tessa: *Hablar, llorar. Hablar, llorar.*/ Talk, cry. Talk, cry.

(9) Mrs. Morales: *No se oyen igual*./They don't sound alike.

(10) Tessa: Yes, it does!

(11) Mrs. Morales: *Hablar, llorar.*/Talk, cry.

(12) Tessa: *Hablar, llorar. Hablar, llorar*./ Talk, cry. Talk, cry.

(13) Mrs. Morales: *Vamos a….voy a consultar con experto de español porque para mí, yo no oigo una rima en hablar, llorar.*/We are going to…I am going to consult with a Spanish expert because, for me, I don't hear a rhyme in talk, cry.

(14) Tessa: Yes, there is because…[still in front of the class standing her ground]!

(15) Mrs. Morales: *Oigo la rima muy claro cuando leímos el otro poema.*/I heard the rhymes clearly when we read the other poem.

(16) Tessa [still in front of the class]:

Hablar, llorar. Hablar, llorar./ Talk, cry. Talk, cry.

(17) Mrs. Morales: *Pero en esta…. calle, nadie. Abuelo, buñuelo. Abuela, ciruela. Tía, sandia. Primo, pepino. Hermana, manzana*./But in this one…street, no one. Grandpa, pastry. Grandma, plum. Aunt, watermelon. Cousin, cucumber. Sister, apple.

(18) Tessa [still in front of the class]:

Well, that's clearly a rhyme.

(19) Mrs. Morales: *Sí. Pero, ésta, como que no se oye mucho, quizás yo estoy equivocada. Voy a consultar…* /Yes. But, this one, I can't really hear it, maybe I'm wrong. I am going to consult…

(20) Tessa [still in front of the class]:

..with a Spanish expert.

What began as a debate between students at different tables about whether or not *hablar* and *llorar* are words that rhyme evolved into a discussion between Mrs. Morales and Tessa, who engaged in code switching at the lexical level. Interestingly, Tessa was considered a "balanced" bilingual because she was placed into the Spanish TWDL third grade cohort of students. As a "balanced" bilingual, one would expect her to be able to state her argument in Spanish; instead, she code switches between English and Spanish using key words in Spanish that are relevant to the poem. That is to say, despite the strict separation of language imposed by the TWDL model and despite the fact that Mrs.

Morales's cohort of students are considered the Spanish "dominant" or "bilingual" individuals, where any student should be able to carry on a discussion entirely in Spanish, the minority language, we see the use of Spanish and English between Mrs. Morales and Tessa flow seamlessly. In fact, they are participating in a translanguaguing practice where Mrs. Morales spoke in Spanish and Tessa understood Mrs. Morales's use of Spanish, and then responded in English and Spanish. Another way to examine the transcript above, is to note that there are 20 "turns of talk," with Mrs. Morales speaking in Spanish for 10 of those turns, and the class responding with "*sí* " for two of the turns. Tessa speaks eight times. Five of those turns are spoken in English, and 3 of the turns are spoken in Spanish. The times where Tessa speaks in Spanish are done to express her opinion that *hablar* and *llorar* do rhyme. The times where Tessa spoke in English are to stand her ground and explain to Mrs. Morales why the two words rhymed. In addition to Tessa making her argument mostly in English with lexical code switches, she also expressed a sense entitlement and power. She was not the only one in the class questioning whether *"hablar* and *llorar"* rhymed, but she was the only one invested in standing her ground in front of the class, making her claim, and correcting the teacher.

This kind of code switching linguistic interaction (or translanguaging) was something that had been observed in Tessa in prior years, such as first grade; however, she was now using Spanish and English in resourceful and dynamic ways (Field Notes, 11/20/13 and Chapter 6) that went beyond the lexical code switch by participating in a translanguaging conversation. Code switching for Tessa did not have negative consequences; it did not position her as an inadequate bilingual. In fact, the last two lines

in the transcript above illustrated how naturally, or seamlessly, the use of two or more languages can be. Mrs. Morales started one sentence by saying, "Voy a consultar…, " and Tessa completed her sentence by saying, "…with a Spanish expert." The discussion concluded with Mrs. Morales stating that she will have to consult with a Spanish "*experto*," perhaps referring to another adult outside of the classroom. By making this comment, Mrs. Morales was colluding with the students to construct a certain definition of "acceptable" classroom language practice. Interestingly, even though Mrs. Morales herself occasionally partook in translanguaging practices like code switching, most, if not all, of her language use was in "standard" Spanish. The message Mrs. Morales sent in this exchange was that there are Spanish "experts," and that there are Spanish "speakers" who are not as knowledgeable about Spanish.

Positionality is "inextricably linked to power, status, and rank" (Holland et al., p. 271) and the figured world of "bilingualism" in Mrs. Morales's 3rd grade classroom identified and positioned students like Tessa, who willingly took the floor and code switched, in relation to one another; specifically, with those who did not feel as entitled or as comfortable to take the floor and challenge an authority figure like the classroom teacher. Students who walked into 3rd grade speaking the academic language of the institution, like a public school classroom, demanded more attention than students who did not. Mrs. Morales described those kind of students with similar socio-economic background as "…very entitled children and they have parents that advocate for them to the point where they intimidate teachers and so I feel like teachers have been intimidated and as result the native Spanish speakers have been silenced by their peers" (Interview,

12/17/13). Recognizing the social inequities that some of her students seemed to experience in the TWDL program, Mrs. Morales openly discussed with her class how minoritized language communities have dealt with similar issues through the use of a multicultural and multilingual children book. The following paragraph is an example of how Mrs. Morales used a multicultural and multilingual book and her personal experience to describe to her class that language is important to everyone no matter their (socio-economic) background.

Mrs. Morales used the book of poems entitled, *My Name is Jorge* (Medina, 1999), in order to honor students' cultural and linguistic heritage. It is the same book of poems that led into the discussion in Ms. Jackson's room about Josué's name being pronounced incorrectly. The book is a collection of bilingual poems written from the perspective of a little boy who recently immigrated to a new and English-speaking country, the U.S.A. The poem, *My Name is Jorge*, stressed the importance of saying Spanish names correctly or not changing them altogether. During the read aloud of this lesson Mrs. Morales connected what was happening to *Jorge,* when a teacher and other students changed his name to George, to how students in the class feel when their name is mispronounced or misspelled. Mrs. Morales says,

> *Tal cómo a Lila le molesta mucho cuando le ponen doble /L/, o cuando a Mimí no le ponen acento en la /i/, o cuando yo era niña y me decían María sin pronunciar la /r/ bien en mi nombre, o me llamaban "Mary." Mi nombre no es "Mary." Mi nombre no es Mareerah. Mi nombre no es Ms. Morahlez. La calle no es Guadaloop, es Guadalupe. La calle no es*

> *San Jahsintoh, es San Jacinto. Tenemos que honrar el lenguaje sea español, sea inglés. Tienes que honrar y respetar el idioma. Como no más cambiarlo como tú quieras. Tu no tienes ese derecho./*Like how it bothers Lili very much when they put 2 L's in her name or like when they forget the accent over the "i" in Mimí' name, or when they would call me María without rolling the "r" well in my name, or they would call me Mary. My name is not Mary. My name is not Mah-ree-yah. My name is not Ms. Moh-rah-lez. The street is not Guad-a-loop, its Guadalupe. The street is not San Jug-sin-toh, it's San Jacinto. We have to honor the language whether it is English or Spanish. You have to honor and respect the language. You can't just change it however you like. You don't have that right.

Mrs. Morales worked within the constraints of certain convictions. It is clear in the quote above she believed in not altering the way language is used whether it is Spanish or English. She was referring to the names of people and streets. By incorporating a multicultural and multilingual book, *My Name is Jorge* (see Appendix B), Mrs. Morales opened up a space in her classroom that disrupted social inequities. Interestingly, in spite of encouraging an awareness for cultural and linguistic heritage, social inequities, such as what seemed like Mrs. Morales's unequal distribution of attention of her students during lessons still emerged. What seemed like the unequal distribution of attention had more to do with the structures of power and entitlement, as Mrs. Morales mentioned in an earlier quote that had emerged as the TWDL evolved over the course of four years.

As firmly as Mrs. Morales believed in honoring students' cultural and linguistic backgrounds, she still missed opportunities where *all* students could participate and draw from their linguistic repertoires to co-construct their own and each other's identities. These opportunities include learning local ways of speaking where individual's translanguage, such as what was exemplified in the preceding transcript (Excerpt 15). Achieving a certain level of academic skills rather than a "balanced" level of bilingualism seems to have been required of students in order to be placed in the Spanish 3rd grade cohort. Most first and second-generation Latino immigrants (or according to Mrs. Morales, "native" Spanish-speakers) who did not achieve these academic skills were not placed in the Spanish 3rd grade cohort. Although, emerging bilinguals, such as, Leonardo, Cristóbal, and Alejandro, 1st and 2nd generation immigrants, and those who were placed in the Spanish 3rd grade cohort demonstrated a command of either Spanish and/or English that warranted their placement in that class. Third generation plus immigrants like Valentina, Mimí, and Sergio, and European-Americans like Tessa, Ellie, and Fred, all had varied forms of bilingualism (see Table 4 in Chapter 4). Interestingly, by second grade Tessa had the same LAS scores as Elizabeth; yet, only Tessa was placed in the Spanish cohort, while Elizabeth was retained; although the decision to retain presumably had to do with a complex network of other test scores and demonstrations of success in the classroom. Of course, there is not one single metric to consult, but when we consider first and second generation immigrant academic success versus third generation plus Latino and European-American academic success (Portes & Rumbaut, 2001), the fact that only three of the original "neighborhood kids" were present in the 3rd grade Spanish cohort of

the TWDL program is not merely a coincidence. As I discussed earlier, when Tessa wanted to argue a point, like words that do or do not rhyme, she did so mostly in English. Fred was not shy about participating in Spanish, but many of his utterances in Spanish are not aligned with what one would consider a strong command in Spanish. For example, the following comment, "*Y el tercero es, umm, es entiende* / And the third is, umm, is [to] understand," is not aligned with what one would consider a strong command of Spanish. That is, the criteria to be placed in the Spanish 3rd grade classroom was not about Spanish command so much as academic skills that counted, which was dictated by the accountability policy used by the school district.

In an earlier conversation, Mrs. Morales discussed with Alejandro and Cristóbal whether or not the words *hablar* and *llorar* rhymed, yet with Tessa, this wavering discussion became a heated debate. Tessa spoke with a sense of entitlement when she asserted that *she* was right that both *hablar* and *llorar* did in fact rhyme. Holland, et al., (1997) describe how this can occur:

> Entitled people speak, stand, dress, and emote, hold the floor--- they carry out privileged activities--- in ways appropriate to both the situation of the activity and their position within it. Those who speak, stand, dress, hold the floor, emote, and carry out activities in these proper ways are seen to be making claims to be entitled. Speaking certain dialects, giving particular opinions, and holding the floor are indices of claims to privilege. (p. 133)

The figured world of bilingualism in Mrs. Morales's classroom did not penalize or stigmatize the code switching practices of students. Although, learning in Mrs. Morales's classroom seemed to have become "unevenly distributed." When students like Cristóbal did not *look* like they were participating, or when students like Leonardo and Alejandro inquired as to whether or not certain words rhyme, Mrs. Morales attention looked differently with them because of the structures of power and entitlement that functioned to make learning unevenly distributed despite her best intentions. On the particular day I was observing, instead of inquiring further about what Cristóbal was thinking, she assumed he was not on task and asked them to *show* her he was participating in the group activity.

A large body of research has examined how students with similar backgrounds as Fred, Valentina, Sergio, and Tessa, from a higher socio-economic status, engage in language practices at home that reflect those valued in institutions, such as the public school classroom (Purcell-Gates, 1997; Palmer, 2007 & 2008; Valdes, 2002; Dorner, Orellana, & Li-Grining, 2007; Martínez, 2010). I also assert that, because Tessa was able to engage in these kinds of language practices, she was able to use CS as a crutch when it came to an emotionally charged disagreement; a disagreement whereby she wanted to make a point. She did so, even though many 1st and 2nd generation immigrant heritage speakers of Spanish have historically been criticized for CS in academic settings (Martínez, 2010; Zentella, 1997; Valdes, 2009). Although students in this class

were not critiqued or penalized for CS, Mrs. Morales primarily spoke in "standard" Spanish. By primarily speaking in "standard" Spanish Mrs. Morales reciprocated that "non-standard" varieties of Spanish were not preferable for communication. Holland, et al., described "relational identities" as

> "hav[ing] to do with behavior as indexical claims to social relationships with others. They have to do with how one identifies one's social position relative to others mediated through the ways one feels comfortable or constrained, for example, to speak to another, to command another, to enter into the space of another… (p. 127)."

Through her words and body language, Tessa exhibited that she was very comfortable in challenging Mrs. Morales's knowledge about Spanish words that rhyme. As illustrated in my video recording of this event, Tessa's body language entered the "space of another" when she walked up to the front of the class like a teacher, and she stood her ground, defending her position on words that she believed rhymed in Spanish. By doing this, Tessa was positioning herself as having equal status as the classroom teacher and distancing herself from *all* her peers. The figured world of bilingualism situated and distinguished the ways in which the teacher's role in this classroom helped create the experiences children have as members of a dual language community. The following section describes how the figure world of bilingualism relates to positionality in a TWDL setting.

The Figured World of Bilingualism and Positionality

The concept of the figured world situated and distinguished the ways in which the teacher's role in this study assisted in creating the experiences children have as members of a dual language community. The concept of positionality describes identities in relation to each other, where each one constitutes the other. An individual's social position within a figured world shapes the experiences the individual will encounter within certain contexts. For instance, let us consider the demographic changes Hillside Elementary experienced from 2009 to 2014. Prior to the implementation of the TWDL program, Latino students made up 86% of the total student population. Considering the students' ethnic and racial identities in relation to their immigrant generational status, their gender, and their class in the context of a school setting, where the majority of the students share a similar background, one could argue that there were other salient factors influencing positionality and carrying inequity before the demographic shifts. That is, positionality is not a static feature, and sharing a "similar" background is only one of many factors. Four years after the implementation of the TWDL program, the Latino population at Hillside Elementary decreased to 66% of the student population. That is to say, 1st and 2nd generation immigrants' social positions were completely different from their peers and one could contend that their positionality had also changed.

Summary of Chapter

In review, this chapter presented a rich and full description of the Hillside Elementary community. I began the chapter by introducing how Holland's et al. concept

of the figured world is used to examine the co-construction of identity in four TWDL classrooms. A section is also dedicated to describe a pertinent and key aspect of this study, which included the student demographic changes that transpired after the dual language program was implemented at Hillside elementary. A large portion of this chapter honed in on each classroom from kindergarten to the 3rd grade year. Each classroom description included: a profile of the classroom teacher, the data collected, the way language learning was positioned, and transcripts which provide the reader an idea of the classroom ambience. The transcripts selected present findings of data collected each year to demonstrate how students and teachers played a role in their and each others' co-construction of identity.

The following chapter continues to unpack the many ways that we can understand children's bilingual language practices. Specifically, Chapter 6 contemplates how the first grade classroom became a place where emerging bilinguals were provided a space to use hybrid language practices.

Chapter 6: Process Drama, the Co-construction of Identity, and the Development of a Translanguaging Pedagogy.

Introduction

The first grade classroom I followed included the same kindergarten students from the previous year, in addition to one new student, Josué. According to the TWDL model in place, during first grade the languages of instruction were to be separated exactly as in the previous year (see Table 3 in Chapter 1). It is of note, however, that unlike the previous year and subsequent years, it was during this first grade year where diverse language practices were truly sanctioned. The data I collected in this classroom includes 6 weeks of video and audio recordings during the fall of 2011.

As Tejana activist and literary theorist Gloria Anzaldúa asserted, "Language is twin skin to identity; I am my language" (1999, p. 59). Mounting research suggests that identity matters for school success, and that language and identity are powerfully intertwined (Reyes & Vallone, 2007, Sayer, 2012). A "monolingual solitudes" understanding of bilingualism may have the impact of undermining children's bilingual identities, yet explicit language separation prevails in bilingual education classrooms in Texas where hybrid language practices are highly stigmatized.

The classroom is a space in which identity construction occurs. When teachers create spaces in the classroom where children can draw on their linguistic resources to learn and to communicate; then teachers allow students the opportunity to negotiate the co-construction of their own and each other's sense of identity (DePalma, 2010; Fitts,

2006; Lee, Hill-Bonnet and Gillispie, 2008; Palmer, 2008; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Potowski, 2007). Scholars have criticized the TWDL model because it can unintentionally frame the language practices of first and second generation HLLs in deficit ways. For example, students might use non-standard vernaculars, which are not sanctioned/favored in TWDL contexts (Valdes, 1997; Pimental, Soto, Pimental, Urrieta, 2008; McCollum, 1999).

In this chapter, I examined the ways in which the first grade teacher of a TWDL classroom utilized supportive bilingual strategies that reinforced the co-construction of identities. By identifying and examining the supporting bilingual strategies in place, one can better facilitate language learning for all emerging bilinguals; however, this is especially true for those who come from 1st and 2nd generation immigrant backgrounds. That is to say, success in the facilitation of language learning has a great deal to do with how the classroom teacher positions students to allow them to access their diverse language practices in rich and meaningful ways. In this chapter, I explored the way(s) in which Tessa, Josué, and their peers co-constructed their own and each other's sense of identity by analyzing how they used Spanish and English to negotiate the meaning of a scene through process drama (Wagner, 1976).

In the following sections, I focused on two students, Tessa and Josué, although other students also appeared in the transcripts. The voice of heritage speakers of Spanish appeared the strongest during first grade. Throughout the selected transcripts, I focused on the first and second-generation Latino immigrant student's diverse linguistic practices while shedding light on the implications for the co-construction of bilingual identities.

PARTICIPANTS

Ms. Jackson

As a brief reminder, the classroom teacher, Ms. Jackson, had been teaching at various grade levels since she began her career 11 years ago. She grew up in the Rio Grande Valley in a bilingual household. Thus, code switching was an important part of Ms. Jackson's linguistic repertoire (Zentella, 1997). Ms. Jackson regularly drew on both Spanish and English in coordinated ways in order to intentionally communicate ideas with bilingual interlocutors. With her emerging bilingual students, she appeared to use this code switching in strategic ways to enhance her instruction. [see Ch. 5 for more details about Ms. Jackson.]

Tessa

This chapter examined the interactions that occurred between a European-American student named Tessa, who is an upper middle-class, English-dominant student, and other emergent bilinguals, in a TWDL first grade classroom. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Tessa had been learning Spanish in preschool settings since she was a toddler. Tessa's interactions helped me understand how all students were co-constructing their identities in a classroom with a diverse ethnic and linguistic demographic. Her interactions with her classmates demonstrated the ways in which students in the TWDL classroom can be positioned to support the development of a bilingual identity. Tessa was observed engaging in conversation with her peers in ways that reflected local behavior and

speaking practices characteristic of places like Central Texas where Spanish and English are in contact. [see Chapter 4 for more details about Tessa.]

Josué

This chapter includes Josué's voice, in particular, which emerged in Ms. Jackson's classroom. Prior to process drama Josué was quiet and did not participate as much as other students. As mentioned in Chapter 4, he transferred to Hillside Elementary for first grade from another elementary school. I aimed to give credit to HLLs like Josué, children of first and second generation immigrants, by describing how their presence and language practices can have a positive impact on the dynamics of the classroom. Unfortunately, he was only present for one year. Still, his presence was significant in these interactions. [see Chapter 4 for more details about Josué.]

First, I provide a description of process drama before describing how Ms. Jackson's role as facilitator encouraged students to draw on their linguistic repertoires to co-construct positive bilingual identities.

Process Drama

At Hillside elementary in the second year of the study, researchers brought training and books into the program in order to explore the power of process drama in a TWDL context. We gave first and second grade teacher's critical, multicultural children's picture books that had key, critical moments, which required a difficult decision. Teachers would read the books up to that point, and then closed the book and invited

children to "play into" the story, acted out the challenges, and worked together to come up with solutions to story dilemmas.

In the last few decades, the use of drama in the classroom has been an area of interest among researchers and teaching professionals (Heathcote, 1984). Hertzberg and Ewing (1998) described drama as a social/pedagogical paradigm, explaining that:

> From the late 1960s a clear pedagogy of drama emerged, revolutionary and yet not new, based on using improvised drama for education and enactment of realistic models of human behavior. Originally known as *drama-in-education or educational drama* it is often now referred to *process drama*" (p.4).

From this point forward process drama is also the term I use to describe related activities. Wagner (1998) described the purpose of process drama as a way "to create an experience through which students may come to understand human interactions, empathize with other people, and internalize other points of view." (p. 5) Process drama has the potential to provide students access to an additional space in the TWDL classroom where they can draw on their linguistic resources to negotiate the meaning of a story, and, in doing so, they can co-construct their own and each other's sense of identity.

Heathecote (1984) and other researchers and practitioners (Dunn & Stinson, 2011; Hertzberg, 2003 ; Rothwell, 2011; Ntelioglou, 2011; Stinson & Winston, 2011; Pelligrini & Glada, 1982) have described various available methods to introduce drama in the classroom; for example, freeze frame and role-play. In this study, fellow researchers and I implemented the strategy of role-playing to assist children in developing their ideas about

critical issues like undocumented immigration in the United States. Hertzberg (2003) described role-playing as a "*Role-to-speak* [which] enables many children to express their feelings and experiences about difficult issues while in role." Students not only engaged in new identities by speaking from the perspective of a character, but they also used Spanish and English in ways that reflected local language practices. The authentic use of the local Spanish language is essential because in traditional foreign language education classrooms, the opportunity to speak in authentic and less contrived settings has been difficult to re-create in the classroom (Potowski, 2007). In the following section, I describe how process drama provides an authentic space for language learning.

Process Drama and Language Learning

A recent area of interest for researchers and practitioners brings together process drama and second language learning. There is very little research available about process drama in the second language classroom, although a relevant finding includes how it can provide an embedded context, which can facilitate communication in the target language (Stinson & Winston, 2011). According to Potowski (2004), "the field of applied linguistics has not yet articulated formal theories of heritage language development, [and] it is reasonable to assume that heritage speakers must also produce output and negotiate meaning in order for their Spanish to continue developing" (p.77). In this study, I seek to place greater value on the diversified ways HLLs produce output in Spanish. My work seeks to support heritage language and identity development by demonstrating how using two languages, at times simultaneously, can prove to be a positive for linguistic minority

and majority students in TWDL programs. Heritage speakers of Spanish bring a valuable linguistic resource into the TWDL classroom: the authentic Spanish language as used in Texas. Process drama was an ideal vehicle for the co-construction of identity in the TWDL classroom.

Process Drama, the TWDL Classroom, and Identity Construction

Process drama provided a context in which children were asked to communicate, or produce, output in a target language, and to negotiate the meaning of a text from the perspective of a character. The implementation of process drama in the TWDL classroom provided a safe space for children who came from varying backgrounds to discuss sensitive issues, such as those related to race and class. The opportunity to self-author and "arrang[e] the identifiable social discourses/practices that are one's resources in order to craft a response in a time and space defined by others' standpoints in activity" is a crucial part of identity construction (Holland et al., 1998). That is to say, process drama is an ideal vehicle through which children can draw on "social discourses/practices" or, as in this case, linguistic resources, in order to "craft a response in a time and space defined by other's point of view." Furthermore, the use of Spanish and/or English, or the production of new linguistic creations, during process drama contributes to the kinds of identities students are co-constructing. Holland et al. (1998) explained that "Human agency [can] [come] through this art of improvisation." Process drama is a form of improvisation that has the potential to allow all students in an ethnically, linguistically, and economically diverse space to exert their sense of agency and, as a result, engage with new identities.

By providing a space where children can draw on their linguistic resources, we are also validating a sense of who they are as plurilingual beings, which supports the proposed fourth pillar of DLBE (Reyes & Vallone, 2007): identity construction.

Sensitive topics like undocumented immigration were openly addressed during the first grade year with Ms. Jackson through her use of multicultural texts. During these discussions, she sanctioned the use of diverse language practices like translanguaging. Some would describe Ms. Jackson as failing to maintain fidelity to the dual language model's separation of language of instruction and language of the day; Ms. Ontivero and Mrs. Morales stringently avoided mixing languages in the kindergarten and 3rd grade classrooms. That being said, Ms. Jackson, like Mrs. Ontivero and Mrs. Morales, did not ask students to translate during whole class instruction; in order to be heard students could use either language. In the following section, I provide a detailed analysis of the ways in which Ms. Jackson used supportive bilingual strategies during the implementation of process drama to promote the positive co-construction of identity in her first grade TWDL classroom. It is important to note that these findings overlap with each of the examples I am providing.

Teachers as Facilitators to Co-construct a Bilingual Identity

Ms. Jackson's classroom represented what can happen in a TWDL program when teachers act as facilitators with empowering curriculum and open up spaces in the classroom where children can draw on their diverse language practices to co-construct a

bilingual identity. During the first grade year the HLLs' voices seemed to emerge with more strength than in other years.

During my study of this grade level, my own role as researcher changed dramatically compared to the kindergarten year; specifically, it was only during this year of data collection that I was also an active participant in planning and implementing classroom lessons and activities. My participation changed so dramatically because Ms. Jackson agreed to implement process drama as part of the larger research project (see Chapter 1, subheading The Study), which included graduate students, other professors, and me. Part of the implementation included the option for me to work alongside Ms. Jackson. Ms. Jackson had experience with co-teaching and fully welcomed the extra help in her classroom. The books we used to implement process drama were provided to teachers by the professors and researchers, like myself, with post-it notes inside of the books indicating suggested stopping points and questions to ask students. Mrs. Jackson and I met once week to discuss which of the recommended books we were going to use as we implemented process drama. Though my role as researcher changed, I did my best to mirror Mrs. Jackson's teaching style as I respected the fact that I was invited into her space and her classroom. Our relationship grew to where we were working side-by-side with the students, and to where I was no longer the "curious observer" in the corner collecting field notes. Yet, I continued to collect audio/video recordings and to write up field notes after sessions, and it was clear that when the teacher acted as a facilitator and used supportive bilingual strategies, she positioned students in powerful ways. These supportive bilingual strategies emerged in the data as what Creese and Blackledge (2010)

and others (Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014) have called a translanguaging pedagogy.

Teacher as Facilitator to Create Safe and Respectful Spaces in the Classroom to Engage With New Identities.

There are four participants in the following transcript: the teacher, the researcher, and two students, Tessa and Leo, also European-American, and English-dominant. During the recording, Tessa and Leo were re-enacting a poem entitled *Packing* found within the book *My Name is Jorge* (Medina, 1999). Tessa was playing the part of Jorge and Leo was playing the part of Jorge's dad. Jorge's dad had just explained that they would be moving back to México that very day. The teacher had asked the children to create their own dramatization of things that Jorge might say in English or in Spanish in response to his dads' announcement. Tessa, as Jorge, chose to share with dad reasons why she was afraid to move. At one point in the re-enactment, she ran out of reasons. At this point, Ms. Jackson helped facilitate the conversation. The following transcribes the exchange:

Excerpt 16: I don't want to go to México. Part I

(1) Tessa, as Jorge: I don't want to go to México.

(2) Leo, as the dad: We have to.

(3) Tessa: Why?

(4) Leo: Because our house is on fire [class chuckles].

(5) Researcher: *Jorge, ¿qué le vas a decir*? / What are you going to say to him*?*

(6) Tessa: But I don't want to go to México because there is barely any toys.

(7) Leo: Then we will bring ours…

(8) Teacher: What else is worrying you, Jorge? What else are you worried about?

(9) Tessa: What if I forget English?

(10) Leo: We'll bring your dictionary.

(11) Teacher: What else are you worried about, Tessa?

(12) Tessa: I don't want to eat with my hands. I want to eat with a fork.

(13) Leo: Then pack one in your suitcase.

(14) Researcher: Jorge, what makes you think you are going to have to eat with your hands?

(15) Tessa: Because maybe Jorge has been to México before; then he's moved here; then he's moving back to México.

(16) Teacher: Have you seen something or heard something that has made you think that in México you can only eat with your hands?

(17) Tessa: I've heard it from my friends.

(18) Teacher: Okay, so *papá*, is that true?

(20) Leo: [shaking head from side to side confirming a no]

(21) Teacher: Well, *dile*. Tell Jorge / Tell Jorge.

(22) Leo: It's not true.

By speaking from the perspective of a character from a multicultural book, these children had an extra layer of security, or perhaps distance, where they could explore their own thoughts and opinions about people who were different than themselves and about sensitive issues without having to completely own these ideas as their own. In the transcript above, it is particularly intriguing to note the ways in which Tessa, adopting the perspective of a character, seems to engage in richer discussions about a sensitive topic like the deportation of undocumented immigrants. Process drama created a safe space for her to voice a real concern; the kind of thing that worries seven-year olds. Additionally, by speaking from the perspective of a character she was role-playing, Tessa felt safe in expressing her own misconceptions and stereotypes about México.

There are two salient linguistic interactions to note in the preceding transcript. First is that the facilitator's, or researcher's, first utterance in line 5 were in Spanish, yet Tessa chose to respond in English. Second is that, by adopting the perspective of a character, Tessa engaged in thinking and talking about her concerns about México, thereby raising a sensitive topic that seems to underscore certain by stereotypes. The teacher and the researcher pushed the conversation forward by asking Tessa, as the character Jorge, questions about why she was concerned about moving to México. Tessa as Jorge presented the reasons: first, barely any toys [line 6]; and second, forgetting English [line 9]. After offering these two reasons, Tessa, almost self-consciously, states

in line 12: “I don’t want to have to eat with my hands. I want to eat with a fork.” At this point, Leo, who seemed to be interpreting from the teacher’s discourse the correct answer about whether or not Mexican’s eat with their hands, replies to Tessa by shaking his head from side-to-side in disagreement. Interestingly, Tessa’s response was prompted after a third question in line 10 that is specifically addressed to Tessa and not her character. The use of process drama that day seemed to offer a safe space where Tessa could make sense of critical issues. The teacher’s role in facilitating the discussion by asking questions seemed to push the conversation into completion (Anton, 1999; Dunn & Stinson, 2011).

This linguistic interaction was almost entirely in English, excluding the teacher’s Spanish and code switched utterance. The use of English between students in dual language classrooms is common and some researchers have argued that children will drift toward English naturally in our English-dominant society (Palmer, 2008; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, Henderson, 2014; Potowski, 2004; DePalma, 2010). In the preceding dialogue, Tessa has expressed an impression she has about the way people eat in México and Leo responded with a prompt solution. The use of English seemed to index the similarities between Leo and Tessa as coming from Anglo, middle-class homes where a “standard” form of English is spoken. In fact, it would be highly unnatural for them to speak in Spanish in this context, except that within the drama they were supposed to be speaking as Jorge and his father (both Spanish-dominant speakers); however, had the event taken place in a very strict dual language context, then one might observe a minority-language interaction between English-dominant students. As Holland et al. (1998) described:

> The dialect we speak, the degree of formality we adopt in our speech, the deeds we do, the places we go, the emotions we express, and the clothes we wear are treated as indicators of claim to identification with social categories and positions of privilege relative to those with whom we are interacting. (p.175)

Tessa's description of Mexicans as only eating with their hands could also be interpreted as an "indicator of [a] claim" to a certain identity within a certain social "category and position of privilege." Conversely, Tessa's claim that people eat with their hands in México is also what Bucholtz and Hall (2008) refer to a marker served to position people. That is, the co-construction of identity does not "reside within the individual" it involves tools, or markers, that are used during interaction and are part of producing identity. It is through the use of tools, or linguistic resources, that individuals negotiate the meaning of their social positions and emerging identities. Tessa had exerted her position of privilege, as a White and middle upper-class student, by openly and without hesitation making a blanket claim in front of the class about Mexicans. Furthermore, by making a stereotypical claim about México, she is also categorizing herself as someone who has the authority to make that allegation. The teacher, Ms. Jackson, is intrigued by Tessa's response and continued to probe Tessa's thought process by asking the following question:

Excerpt 17: I don't want to go to México. Part II.

(1) Teacher: Have you seen something or heard something that has made you think that in México you can only eat with your hands?

(2) Tessa: I've heard it from my friends.

Tessa's perception of Mexicans as strictly eating with their hands seemed to have been shaped by her interactions with peers. Her expressed concern about eating with her hands could come from the fear of what she believed to be a different custom in México, one that she is not used to, or it could be indicative of the common circulating discourses that teach children to eat with utensils as a form of "good manners." Despite the origins of the two aforementioned reasons, Tessa's comments about Mexicans put her in a position of relative privilege and distance her from language-minority peers in the classroom.

Additionally, the use of English between Tessa and Leo placed them in a position of privilege and power because they chose to speak in the language that has the most status inside and outside the classroom. In truth, Tessa understood Spanish and was observed speaking Spanish with other peers, but in this particular scene she appeared to adjust her speech, drawing on her bilingualism in order to accommodate her partner, who was an English-dominant student. In contrast, it could also be that Tessa adjusted her use of language depending on whether or not the lesson being taught started out in Spanish or English. As a reminder, Ms. Jackson was not stringent about keeping the language of instruction separate during specified content areas. Ms. Jackson focused more on the content at hand and let the use of Spanish or English emerge in a natural way, depending on the context, the multicultural book being used, the topic of discussion, or the

interlocutor. On the other hand, the strict separation of language(s) does serve to ensure that Spanish is given enough space and that English-speakers use the language that can be most uncomfortable for them. As scholars have noted, this separation is important because otherwise the use of English will dominate classroom discourse, and the kinds of identities that emerge (Palmer, 2009; Potowski, 2007). By way of explanation, without this separation, English-speakers continuously position themselves with the most status. The complexities of the TWDL classroom is a real double edged sword because it is impossible to consider the fluidity of language as necessary in the classroom without taking into account how language separation ensures a protected space for the minority language (i.e., Spanish). If we do not consider these complexities then we are not paying enough attention to the power differentials that are so important and relevant in the TWDL classroom.

Furthermore, Ms. Jackson asked her probing questions in a neutral and non-judgmental tone, which was part of the way she actively worked towards providing a safe and respectful environment for students so they could deconstruct their thoughts and opinions about sensitive issues. As a result, Tessa developed a sense of how others saw and experienced the world. This was evident in the preceding scene. Tessa began to self-author a new identity by "…receiving others' words, but [also through] the act of responding…that informs [her] world[s] through others. Identity, as the expressible relationship to others, is dialogical at both moments of expression, listening, and speaking" (Holland et al., 1998). It is through this opportunity to re-enact a critical scene from a book that Tessa is able to take a risk and share with others how she saw and

experienced the world. Furthermore, by being able to speak from the perspective of a character, process drama provided an extra layer of security for Tessa to discuss sensitive issues like undocumented immigration and to explore why certain stereotypes exist. Self-authoring is formed intersubjectively or, as described by Bucholtz and Hall (2005) and Johnstone (2008), as co-constructed through social interactions between subjects. Tessa adopted the role of Jorge, with what seemed like very clear perceptions of México and Mexicans. Interestingly, in the following excerpt, we see how within a safe and respectful space the linguistic interactions, or index markers, in the use of Spanish and English are also dependent on the interlocutors present.

This next excerpt involves Elizabeth (a Spanish dominant speaker), Mimí (an English dominant speaker), and Valentina (strong in both Spanish and English) who were re-enacting in front of the whole class a scene from Cinderella; a scene, which takes place at the ball. Valentina is added to the group as Cinderella's mother.

Excerpt 18: Re-enacting Cinderella.

(1) Valentina: *Te tienes que ir.* / You have to go.

(2) Elizabeth: *No me voy a ir con ustedes*. /I am not going to leave with all of you.

[The sisters plead with Cinderella to leave.]

(3) Ms. Jackson: *Madrina,¿consejos para Cenicienta? Madrina,¿Tienes consejos*? /Godmother, advice for Cinderella? Do you have advice for Cinderella?

(4) Valentina, speaking to Mimí:

Do you have something to say?

(5) Ms. Jackson, speaking to Mimí:

What are you going to tell her to do? She needs to make a decision. Is she going to stay with the prince or is she going to leave?

(6) Mimí: You should go.

(7) Elizabeth Why?

(8) Someone from the audience:

Stay with the prince.

(9) Elizabeth Why?

(10) Ms. Jackson:

She wants a reason.

(11) Elizabeth:

Why? Tell me.

(12) Ms. Jackson:

Why should she stay with the prince?

(13) Mimí: Because you have to get married.

(14) Ms. Jackson:

… because, why?

(15) Mimí: She has to get married.

(16) Ms. Jackson:

Oh, she should stay because they are supposed to get married? So what's your decision *Cenicienta*? *¿Qué decidiste? ¿Te vas a quedar?* / What did you decide? Are y ou going to stay?

(17) Elizabeth:

Quedar./To stay.

(18) Ms. Jackson: *Bueno, baila.*/Okay, dance.

A collaborative culture of bilingual development in first grade positioned Elizabeth as a source of knowledge and opened up a space where she could exert her sense of agency in English or Spanish and confirm her position as bilingual. As illustrated in the transcript above, Elizabeth switched between Spanish and English based on who she was speaking to while trying to get a reason as to why she should stay or leave the ball. Valentina and Mimí both advised Elizabeth to leave the ball. Elizabeth, however, exerted her sense of agency by not readily agreeing with their advice. She pushed back and asked why they thought she should leave. She demands a clear reason. When a student in the class thought she should stay at the ball, Elizabeth again demanded a reason. In the end, Ms. Jackson asked Elizabeth what she had decided to do. Elizabeth, apparently having weighed the advice of others, decided to stay and dance with the prince. In this excerpt, we see how Elizabeth sustained her sense of agency in both the small-group and whole-group activities. In the interactional data collected in kindergarten, Elizabeth was observed asserting herself only in small group work; I have examples of her engaging in word play with Mimí, and claiming a bilingual identity in small group conversations with Analisa and Sergio. But in whole class lessons she seemed less inclined to speak up.

Ms. Jackson's flexible approach to language learning opened up spaces in the classroom where Elizabeth could more authentically assert her voice. In the kindergarten classroom context, Elizabeth relied on her classmate Sergio for translation and positioning (Sergio said, at one point in reference to Elizabeth, "she was born speaking English and Spanish!" – this transcript appears in Ch.7). Yet now, with her first grade

teacher's creation of a safe place and the use of process drama, Elizabeth's own voice emerged more assertively.

Although I am arguing that the use of flexible bilingualism in the classroom benefits heritage speakers of Spanish; it is crucial that we continue to problematize how and *if* code switching by the teacher actually reinforces the dominant discourse about the power and status English has in society. I think the interaction from the teacher in the previous excerpt was important in that she changed the conversation to English (Line 5). While Valentina is the first one who spoke English, when the teacher continued the conversation in English, it switched the whole discourse to English. The next 11 turns are in English, even from Elizabeth and a student in the audience. Not until the teacher switched back to Spanish (Line 16), did the conversation continue in Spanish, but this was at the very end. The code switching could be giving English more space and more authority, and it could be positioning English speakers in a higher position of privilege in that this allowed them to express themselves better and more compared to Spanish speakers. It also might have given the message that English (and not so much code switching) is still the default and acceptable language.

Process drama allowed students with varying degrees of status in the classroom to change social positions. Students are often empowered and encouraged when they have the opportunity to see through the eyes of a character. In excerpt 15 (Chapter 5), Tessa's role-playing allowed her to consider the position of undocumented immigrants, yet it also allowed her to be challenged on stereotypes about Mexicans. For Elizabeth, her role-playing allowed her to exert her agency and thus make her own choices, even if

temporarily in the persona of Cinderella. As illustrated in these excerpts, not only can teachers like Ms. Jackson create safe and respectful spaces in which students engage with new identities, but teachers can also position students as language resources for their peers and model flexible bilingualism.

Teacher as Facilitator to Position Students as Language Resources and as a Model of Fexible Bilingualism.

The following is a longer excerpt of the same scene from the Cinderella story. Elizabeth is still Cinderella, her sisters are played by Jeff and Josué, both strong English and Spanish speakers, and Mimí plays the fairy godmother. The teacher has asked the students to think about the advice they would give Cinderella about staying at the ball. Jeff and Josué had decided that they would also give advice to the prince.

Excerpt 19: Cinderella Small-Group.

(1) Jeff as 1st sister, speaking to the prince:

No le escoges a ella. Ella es muy cochina. ¡*Escójeme a mí*! / Don't pick her. She is very dirty. Pick me!

(2) Josué as 2nd sister:

No, ¡*escójeme a mí*! / No, choose me!

(3) Researcher, speaking to Mimí:

Tú,¿qué les vas a decir? / And you, what are you going to tell them?

(4) Elizabeth: *Ya, ¡acaba de decir eso! Me puedo ir cuando yo quiera*. / Stop saying that! I can leave when I want to.

(5) Researcher:

Príncipe, ¿qué le vas a decir a todas estas hermanas? / Prince what are you going to say to all of these sisters?

(6) Researcher, speaking to Mimí:

¿Qué les vas a decir? / What are you going to tell them?

(7) Elizabeth: What you going to tell me?

(8) Mimí: Mmm, that...

(9) Researcher:

¿Se debe quedar con el príncipe o se debe devolver contigo? / Should she stay with the prince or should she go back with you?

(10) Elizabeth:

I can go with the *príncipe* or you want to go back?

[No response from Mimí]

(11) Researcher:

Dile otra vez. / Ask her again.

(12) Elizabeth:

You want to go….I want to go to the prince….or you want me to go to back?

(13) Mimí: To back?

(14) Researcher:

With you? ¿*Contigo? /* With you?

(15) Mimí: I want to look at the book.

(16) Researcher:

Okay. Go. *Ve* / Look.

[Sisters plead for prince not to go with Cinderella]

In the transcript above, Josué and Jeff pleaded with the prince to choose one of them at the ball to be his wife while calling Cinderella "dirty" because she had on an old, housemaid dress. As they were pleading, I tried to get Mimí involved in the conversation

by asking her what she was going to tell Cinderella. Meanwhile, Elizabeth demanded that Jeff and Josué stop saying that she is "dirty," and let her choose on her own when she would leave the ball. It is important to note that prior to process drama being implemented, Elizabeth was quiet during classroom lessons. This was not out of the norm for her. In fact, she was mostly quiet during whole-class lessons in kindergarten as well. Both Ms. Jackson and I had agreed that Elizabeth should play the role of Cinderella so that she would be encouraged to speak up and participate more in class. Fortunately, Elizabeth accepted the role and emerged with a strong voice.

As shown in the first Cinderella excerpt and again here with Jeff and Josué, Elizabeth exerted her sense of agency. In this exchange, she demanded that Jeff and Josué stop saying she is "dirty." She was making it clear that she could independently choose when to leave the ball. I continued to prompt students who had not participated in this small group by asking them how they were going to respond to Cinderella or to her sisters. After I ask Mimí in Spanish, "*¿Qué les vas a decir?* / What are you going to tell them?" Elizabeth took it upon herself to translate the question and to asked Mimí, "What are you going to tell me?" This act of translating was something Elizabeth had not been observed doing while in kindergarten. It was a skill she learned as she became bilingual. Elizabeth's positionality as a Spanish-dominant bilingual changed when she could translate for other students like Mimí. Her status appeared to increase in the figured world of the classroom because she could now use her two languages to exert her agency as a translator for others. The act of translating was also something she did outside of the classroom to help her mom while running errands (Interview with her mom, Spring,

2014). In fact, Mimí, an English-dominant bilingual was not translating like Elizabeth, even though both girls had been in the dual language program for the same amount of time. As shown in the preceding excerpt, Elizabeth continued to translate my Spanish utterances into English for Mimí; but, by the end of the activity, Mimí chose to leave the group and look at the Cinderella book as a form of reference. One reason why Mimí decided to leave the group was because she preferred to use the book's illustrations as a form of reference than get help from Elizabeth. It could be that Mimí felt that she had the least status in the group because she could not translate and found another way to independently decide what Cinderella should do.

It really seemed that Elizabeth's voice, her sense of agency, and her bilingual identity emerged through process drama, specifically because she was placed in a position of power when she was given the role of Cinderella. Not only during process drama, but in many activities in Ms. Jackson's class, students were given the choice of which language they wanted to use. In her classroom approach, Ms. Jackson drew on translanguaging practices, the funds of knowledge of HLLs, and students own experiential knowledge, to position students in powerful ways. Not only was Elizabeth able to switch from Spanish to English when and how she wanted, but she also was able to use her translating skills to bridge understanding for her classmate Mimí (which, as we'll later see in greater detail, she was not quite able to accomplish in kindergarten). As Bonnie Norton (1995) explained, some students have a greater investment in becoming bilingual, depending on various factors, such as: home language use and support of Spanish; students' attitudes towards dual language programs and Spanish; teachers'

positioning of students; and students positioning within their peer group. During Elizabeth's first grade year, her home language practices of translating and using English and Spanish in flexible ways were supported in the classroom. Ms. Jackson purposely positioned Elizabeth in powerful roles during dramatic play, which made her peers see her as a resource.

The participants in this next scene are: the teacher, Elizabeth, Tessa, and Valentina, who is a primary bilingual. This scene is from the book, *Sí se puede* (Cohn & Delgado, 2002), a story about the Los Angeles Janitors Strike of 2002, told from the perspective of a little boy whose mother is a janitor. Tessa plays the role of *la abuelita,* the grandma; Elizabeth acts as the grandson Carlitos and Valentina is Carlitos' mom, a widow who financially supports Carlitos and abuelita. The scene is as follows: due to feeling underappreciated, under-paid, and over-worked as night shift janitors, the mom is going on strike with fellow employees.

Excerpt 20: Sí se puede.

(1) Valentina, as the mom:

¿Puedes ayudar? / Can you help?

(2) Tessa, as the grandma:

You can gather people.

(3) Elizabeth: You can gather people?

(4) Valentina: *Pero, es muy peligroso.* / But, it's very dangerous.

(5) Tessa understands the Spanish utterance and proceeds to tell Elizabeth what to say in English:

You can…[something inaudible].

(6) Elizabeth: What?

(7) Tessa (whispering to Elizabeth):

Pero, yo puedo hacerlo. / But, I can do it.

(8) Elizabeth: *Pero, yo no puedo hacerlo.* / But I can't do it.

(9) Valentina: *Pero, es muy peligroso porque si alguien te agarra no podemos encontrarte…y la persona que te agarre no va a devolverte* / But, it's very dangerous because if someone kidnaps you?? we won't be able to find you… and the person who grabs you isn't going to return you.

(10) Tessa, whispers in Elizabeth's ear:

…abuela no…abuela no…

(11) [Elizabeth quickly whispers in Tessa's ear and Tessa nods in agreement]

(12) Elizabeth: *Pero, mi abuela me puede llevar*. / But my grandma can take me.

(13) Valentina: *Sólo si está caminando con usted* / Only if she is walking with you.

(14) Ms. J: *Carlitos, pídele a abuelita si te va ayudar* / Carlos, ask grandma if she is going to help you.

(15) Elizabeth: *Quiero que mi abuelita me ayude*. / I want my grandma to help me.

(16) Ms. J: *Dile a abuelita ahí está* / Tell her she is right there.

(17) Elizabeth: *Quiero que [something inaudible] me ayudes.* / I want you to help me.

(18) Tessa: Okay.

(19) Ms. J: *¿Quieres ir con Carlitos a la huelga?* / Do you want to go to the strike with Carlitos? [Tessa nods yes] ¿Cómo le pueden ayudar a mamá ustedes dos en la huelga? / How can you both help mom with the strike?

(20) Tessa: … umm…

(21) [Valentina whispers in Tessa's ear]

(22) Tessa: *Podemos umm* … / We can umm …

(23) [Valentina whispers to Tessa]

(24) Tessa: *Cargar una botella*. / Carry a bottle.

(25) Elizabeth whispers:

para que / so that

(26) Tessa: … *para que* / … so that

(27) Valentina whispers:

Las personas pueden…

(28) Tessa: *Las personas pueden* … / The people can …

(29) Elizabeth whispers to Tessa:

…*poner* / … to put

(30) Tessa: … *poner umm…poner dinero* / put umm … put money

(31) Ms. J: *¿Para juntar dinero en la huelga?* / So they can collect money at the strike?

(32) [Tessa nods in affirmation]

(34) Ms. J: *¿Qué más?* / What else?

(35) Tessa: *Podemos* … / We can …

(36) [Tessa whispers to Valentina for help]

(37) Ms. J: *Dilo en inglés si no estás segura*. / Say it in English if you aren't sure.

(38) Tessa: … *hacer* signs / … make signs.

(39) Ms. J: *¿Cuáles personas se juntaron? /* What kind of people were striking?

(40) Tessa: *Los que* … / The ones that …

(41) Tessa: *Los que hacieron* … /The ones that did …

(42) Ms. J: *los trabajadores* / the workers…

(43) Tessa: *el trabajo* / the work

In this scene, Tessa was not only engaging with a new identity by speaking from the perspective of the grandmother, *la abuelita*, but she was also interacting with peers and taking risks in her second language. This involved code switching, translating, and using Spanish and English in subsequent utterances during process drama. On at least four occasions I recorded in my field notes explicitly that students were observed using

Spanish and English in subsequent utterances, code switching, and in translating. The discursive language practices all students use inside the classroom play a role in the kinds of identities that are constructed. In this particular scene, students were negotiating the use of Spanish and English while, at the same time, making sense of the subject matter in the scene: the social inequity experienced by minoritized communities; the exploitation of undocumented immigrants working for low-wages.

In the preceding excerpt, the use of English and Spanish seemed to index the similarities, rather than the differences between the students. The similarities emerged because they all engaged in what seemed like strategic bilingual interactions, such as translating and code switching, in order to bring meaning to a scene. In lines 1-10 and 19-29, Tessa, Valentina, and Elizabeth used each other as a resource to communicate in Spanish and/or English. In lines 1-10, Tessa understood the Spanish utterances by Valentina and proceeded to tell Elizabeth, as Carlitos, what to say in English. Interestingly, Elizabeth was a Spanish speaker and could have easily responded on her own, but, partially due to the design of the two-way immersion model, these girls had already established relationships, such as bilingual partners, so that assisting each other with communication was normal and even expected (Gomez, Freeman, & Freeman, 2005). This specific interaction speaks to how fluid language is and how much depends on the context and interlocutors present. It also demonstrates how the inclusion of diverse language practices in TWDL settings contributes to the development of a positive bilingual identity for heritage speakers of Spanish. Tessa too seemed to emerge as part of a speech community; a community, which *included and validated* the language practices

of heritage speakers of Spanish. As we saw in the one of the earliest transcripts involving Leo, Tessa learned with whom she can use Spanish and/or English. That is to say, Tessa developed a sense of a bilingual identity because of her deliberate use of Spanish, English, and sometimes, depending on the interlocutors present, both simultaneously.

Compared with Excerpt 16 where Tessa's physical responses were to look for the teacher to push the conversation forward, the students in this scene looked to each other to bring meaning to a scene by drawing on each other's linguistic resources. Also in this scene, the way in which Tessa used Spanish and English to translate or code switch during process drama seemed to index her similar to the use of language practices by heritage speakers of Spanish, but this time in a more strategic manner. For example, both Elizabeth and Tessa started the program in kindergarten "dominant" in their "native" languages and had been observed translating more and more for their peers during the first grade year. The teaching practices that Mrs. Jackson employed, which led to these similarities, included: the positioning of students as language resources for one another and modeling flexible bilingualism. These kinds of "supportive bilingual strategies" also have the potential to begin to challenge social inequities experienced by minoritized language communities. Potowski found (2004) that the students selected which language to use based on a range of factors including the interlocutor, with the teacher getting more Spanish out of them than peers do; but, if given the opportunity to draw from their linguistic repertoire, students will take risks in speaking the target language with one another and with the teacher (Mateus, 2014). In the following section, I describe how the

teacher as facilitator can encourage students to discuss social inequalities experienced by minoritized communities.

Teacher as Facilitator to Discuss Social Inequalities Experienced by Minortized Communities.

In Zentella's seminal study (1997), she found that the majority of times HLLs code switched were for reasons other than as a crutch, which is what most classroom teachers think is the reason. Such code switches as: footing, clarification, emphasis, or crutch-like code mixing held purpose for the speakers. The following dialogue took place after children were asked to present their interpretation of a scene from the book, *Friends from the Other Side (*Anzaldua, *1995).* There are four participants in the following transcript: the teacher; the researcher; Josué, and Tessa. The class was debriefing after Tessa's group had just finished re-enacting a scene in the book about undocumented immigration. As in the previous transcript [Excerpt 20], the ways in which students and the teacher use Spanish and English to negotiate the meaning of a scene is reflective of the language practices, such as translating and code switching, that heritage speakers of Spanish engage in with other bilinguals (Zentella, 1997). Often, Ms. Jackson and the researcher would add an additional character, one as a friend, to offer advice, or to encourage the students to think about alternative solutions to a critical scene. The richer conversations took place when students were practicing what they were going to re-enact because they had a tendency, as a group, to present to the whole class something different than what they had prepared. The following dialogue begins with the researcher

questioning why Tessa, as Prietita, decided to tell border patrol that they were chasing the wrong person:

Excerpt 21: ***La llevaron pa'tras.***

(1) Researcher: I noticed something interesting when you were chasing them...that…

(2) Students, in sync:

They were laughing [while chasing each other].

(3) Researcher: Well, yeah, but you said "it's not me, it's him." Did you hear that?

(4) Tessa: [nodding in affirmation]

(5) Researcher: Why did you say that? Hold on, we aren't acting right now… [Asking students to stop chasing one another].

(6) Tessa: Because we were in separate places. 'Cuz I was like right here…

(7) Researcher: But why did you tell him "it's not me, it's him?" So, what were you trying to tell him?

(8) Tessa: Uhhhh, to like go away…or something.

(9) Researcher: Why?

(10) Tessa: Uhhh…

(11) Researcher: You wanted him to get him instead of you. Why?

(12) Tessa: Uhhhh

(13) Ms. Jackson: Originally, you said, as Prietita, that you were going to help Joaquín. But then when you got caught you said, "It's him not me. Not me, it's him."

(14) Tessa: Well, I kind of meant to say like, umm, to say, "Go away, go back to the river, and to do your business."

(15) Researcher: Yeah….okay.

(16) Ms. Jackson: But, did you get scared maybe?

(17) Tessa: Kind of.

(18) Researcher: Class, I want you to think about what you are seeing up here because these are things that happen in real life. You're laughing, and it is kind of funny to see your friends up there running away. This is actually, like Ms. Jackson said, a really serious topic. People really do get sent back home, and people lose their family members because they are sent back to México [student adding "and prison"]…yeah and prison. So when you're coming up here, try not to laugh, and also think about…We have already seen three different groups come up here, and they are all doing the same thing, and I know all of you didn't do this [in your small groups when we were practicing before presenting to the whole class].

(19) Ms. Jackson: This isn't what it looked like in the classroom. [Josué raises his hand up]. I saw a lot of good things happening in the classroom. I'm not saying that these aren't good things, but I heard lots of conversation in the classroom, and I'm not hearing any conversation up here. I'm not hearing you all talking about what is going on. I see you just chasing. Josué?

(20) Josué: One time my grandma [something inaudible] the police called another police *y la llevaron pa'tras* a Texas. / …and they sent her back to Texas.

(21) Teacher: *¿A Texas o a México? /* To Texas or to México?

(22) Josué: *A Texas*./ To Texas.

(23) Teacher: Did y'all hear what Josué said? Is it ok if I tell them what you just said?

[Josué nodding in affirmation]

(24) Teacher: Josué said that one time his … *¿abuelita o abuelito*? /…Grandma or Grandpa?

(25) Josué: *Abuelita*/Grandma

[Josué nodding in affirmation]

(26) Teacher: They got stopped in the car, and the police officer called another police officer. Who do you think that other police officer was?

(27) Another student:

The border patrol?

(28) Teacher asking Josué:

The border patrol?

[Josué nodding yes]

(29) Teacher: And what did they do, Josué?

(30) Josué: *La mandaron pa'tras.* / They sent her back.

(31) Teacher: *La mandaron pa'tras. /* They sent her back.

(32) Josué: *Porque no tenía el esticker del carro.* / B*ecause she didn't have the car sticker* [registration sticker had expired]

(33) Tessa: But where did they send her?

(34) Teacher: *Pa'tras /* Back

(35) Tessa and Ms. Jackson, in sync:

To where? Back to where?

(36) Tessa: México?

[Josué, nodding in affirmation]

(37) Another student:

But how did they get stopped?

(38) Ms. J: They stopped them in the car. It sounds like, the, one of the stickers wasn't uhhh …

(39) Josué: … right.

(40) Ms. Jackson: Wasn't right. You know how your parents have to put stickers on the car every year. Well, one of the stickers wasn't right, and they got in trouble.

(41) Researcher: Josué, ¿dónde la mandaron cuando dices pa'tras?/ Josué, where did they send her when you say back?

(42) Josué: *a Texas*./to Texas.

(43) Researcher: A Texas/to Texas?

[Josué, nodding yes]

(44) Ms. Jackson and Researcher, in sync:

Estamos en Texas/We are in Texas.

(45) Tessa: *¿A México?*/To México?

(46) Another student:

Maybe they were at México and driving back to Texas.

(47) Tessa: But, Josué, umm were you in the car with your grandma? No?

(48) Josué: No.

(49) Teacher: How did you feel when you heard the story? *¿Cómo te sentiste cuando escuchaste el cuento?* [teacher translated what she had said].

(50) Josué: Scared.

(51) Teacher: *¿Te asustaste? /* You got scared*?*

[Josué nodding yes]

(52) Tessa: 'Cuz maybe she was in jail?

It should be noted that it was I, the researcher, who interrupted and disrupted the direction of the discourse when I asked Tessa why she said, "it's not me, it's him" to border patrol when they were looking for Joaquin. Ms. Jackson and I had developed a very open and respectful co-teaching relationship, which is why she helped contextualize what I was asked (Line 13) when noticing that Tessa seemed hesitant to respond (Line 10 & 12). Ms. Jackson reminded Tessa of her initial intentions in helping Joaquin, which provoked Tessa to further explain why she said, "it's not me, it's him" (Line 14). Ms. Jackson and I really began to teach in sync when we probed and pushed the students to think about what and why they were re-enacting scenes from a book. In the preceding transcript it is particularly evident how our teaching relationship developed by the way we supported each other's questions and comments to students (Lines 18 & 19).

In the transcript above, Josué's code switches served as an index marker, which aligned his identity as someone who had experienced something similar to Joaquin, the character in question, who was trying to avoid being deported back to México by border patrol. Josué's *indexing* may occur self-consciously *or* strategically (Johnston, 2008). Josué's code switches could be described as "a change in footing [which] implies a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance" (as cited in Goffman, 1979, p.5). Or, Josué's use of code switching could also be viewed as simply appropriate for this particular classroom setting. Code switching was part of the community norms in this

classroom, even being perceived as bilingual, carried a great deal of status (Mateus, 2014; with the same group of students).

Josué's code switch could be seen as a form of indexicality or, as Johnstone (2008) referred to it, as an indexical form. "La llevaron pa'tras" is a linguistic form that contributes to the denotational or literal meaning. Johnstone (2008) described an indexical form as pointing to pre-existing social meaning, and creating social meaning. The contraction *pa'tras,* which translates as "to return," can be seen in two ways. First, it is a contraction of *para atrás,* which is considered a vernacular form of Spanish. Second, it is used many times as a direct translation of "to return" something; a use that is also common in Chicano Spanish. In this case, however, while Josué was using the phrase "correctly," it is still considered a vernacular form of Spanish because of the way in which he contracted the phrase (Villa, 2005).

Josué's use of, *pa'tras,* a non-standard form of Spanish helped identify Josué as part of a local, Texan, and Spanish-speaking community. His identity as part of a larger community in Central Texas became relevant through his interactions with Tessa and Mrs. Jackson in the preceding scene. Bucholtz and Hall's (2008) partialness theory described the interactional co-construction of identity as "constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts" (p. 606). This social identity contributed to the repertoire of linguistic tools used to communicate in this TWDL classroom. Furthermore, Johnstone (2008) described how this "index …can create and/or affirm shared membership in a community of practice. Using the resources of language the same way and evaluating others' speech the same way may sometimes be relevant in

the creation and maintenance of communities (as cited in Wenger, 1998, p. 134)." By opening up spaces where children can use diverse language practices, such as a vernacular form of Spanish, we are also validating a marginalized language practice in our local Texas community.

Zentella (1997) explained that one reason why children code switch is to realign themselves with interlocutors and to depart from the "narrative frame to evaluate some aspect of the story, or deliver the punch lines, or ending." Regardless of his intentions or reasons for his bilingual speech, it seems clear that Josué's use of code switching helped not only himself, but also others in the class to step away from the story and evaluate and understand how the deportation of undocumented immigrants affects real people like himself. Josué mentioned that his grandma was sent back, as he stated, "*y la llevaron pa'tras."* (Later, when he was drawing a picture about the story he shared, it was clarified that he was actually referring to his grandmother being sent back to México, not to Texas.)

In the transcript above, we saw Ms. Jackson simply behaving as herself while modeling for students a flexible bilingualism. Ms. Jackson translanguaged naturally as a native bilingual, which helped the children learn the pragmatics of being a sensitive, border-crossing bilingual. In doing so, she seemed unaware of those artificially imposed boundaries between Spanish and English that the TWDL model tried to impose. This border dwelling and the use of a critical multicultural children's text allowed for the conversation of important and pertinent issues like undocumented immigration. Her being bilingual with the children taught them pragmatics, but was not particularly

important in facilitating the topics of conversation.

The TWDL program design opens up spaces where children use Spanish and English, and it also prescribes to the idea of separating languages between the language of the day and the language of instruction. Had Ms. Jackson not opened up a space where children could draw on home language practices like code switching and translating, students like Tessa may not have been as willing to engage with a new identity; specifically, that of an undocumented immigrant or a community member who helped to keep an undocumented immigrant from being deported. Instead, in Ms. Jackson's classroom, she was able to learn about individuals who come from a different culture, different race, and even a different class.

Holland and Skinner (2008) describe individual's engagement with new identities as follows:

> Cultural resources…are important devices by which individuals and collectives improvise identity work to author themselves in the terms of the movement. Through engagement with these [kind of] … activities, participants undertake self-making which may eventually result in the formation of new social and personal identities. (p. 85)

It is important, however, to note that students like Tessa, who are White, upper middle-class and English-dominant, can never really see themselves as an "undocumented immigrant." That is to say, Tessa's experiences with process drama in a TWDL classroom will not result in the formation of a new identity, but will allow her to

gain empathy and perhaps more readily enter into another kind of transformational work. The linguistic interactions, which Holland and Skinner referred to as "movement," that occurred during process drama where children drew from their bilingual linguistic resources, suggest that there is also a space where children like Josué, a heritage speaker of Spanish and a 2nd generation Latino immigrant, are strategically positioned in a way where they can exert their presence in the world, their agency, and where *all* children have the potential to co-construct their identities.

Furthermore, as illustrated in the preceding scene [Excerpt 21], the researcher and the teacher act as facilitators by contextualizing and personalizing the scene the students were asked to re-enact. The researcher reminded students that the experiences like being deported "are things that happen in real life…people lose their family members because they are sent back to México." The teacher also reminded students how their dramatizations in front of the class would not be "what it looked like in the classroom" when they were practicing in their small groups.

Ms. Jackson's supportive bilingual strategies led to the development of a translanguaging pedagogy. Embedded in the type of critical narrative described above, this translanguaging positioned Josué in a powerful way. It centered his experience and thus allowed him to fully embody the identity of a border-crossing bilingual. In addition, it also allowed Josué to express himself through his own linguistic repertoire and embrace the authority necessary to tell the story, even by using non-standard Spanish language. Ms. Jackson's choice of multilingual and multicultural literature, her pedagogical practices, and her discourse clearly supported heritage speakers like Josué.

By exploring linguistic interaction, such as the use of Spanish and English as index markers via the context of process drama, students are offered a space to engage with new identities and seem to be thus to develop positive cross-cultural attitudes (Reyes & Vallone, 2007) towards people who are different from them. Tessa and Josué seemed to be "author[ing] themselves" or "forming new social and personal identities." Towards the end of the transcript [Excerpt 21], we hear from Tessa, who had physically moved closer to Josué, and, with a worried look on her face, asks him about his *abuelita*, "But where did they take her?" She seemed to be empathizing with the story Josué had just finished sharing about his grandma, even though she did not fully understand the meaning of the phrase "pa'tras." At this particular point in her development of a bilingual identity, Tessa's partial understanding of the word emerges in the form of empathy for what Josué has gone through when his *abuelita* was deported to México. By way of explanation, Tessa did not *need* to know the literal translation of the word in order to respond to a sensitive topic. Josué, on the other hand,-felt safe in exerting his agency by sharing *his* personal story. Process-drama offered both Tessa and Josué a safe place to explore and/or negotiate the meaning of a sensitive topic and to develop positive ethnic identities and cross-cultural attitudes towards people who are different than them.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

This chapter focused on how Ms. Jackson, the first grade teacher, employed supportive bilingual strategies to co-construct positive academic and bilingual identities, which led to the development of a translanguaging pedagogy. She created a safe and

respectful space through process drama that allowed the children to focus on narratives, and share experiences and knowledge. Doing so allowed students like Tessa to contribute. Secondly, Ms. Jackson positioned students as language resources for one another and modeled flexible bilingualism for her students. Lastly, Ms. Jackson's willingness to discuss social inequities experienced by minoritized language communities in a straightforward, matter-of-fact manner, openly allowed students like Josué to share intimate and valuable stories that might not have shared in another context.

Tessa served as an example of, how an English-dominant student interacted with HLLs. Through her interactions, we were able to better understand several aspects of translanguaging in contexts like a TWDL classroom. The demographic Tessa represents is the very demographic pushing for and implementing TWDL programs across the nation. The time is now to assess how this demographic impacts the kinds of discourses emerging in TWDL settings so as not to render a disservice to the minoritized language communities; communities for whom this kind of instruction was intended to benefit positively. It is important to remain focused on all aspects of (trans) language learning: the performance of the target language by language majority students like Tessa; the opportunity to help peers learn about content and one another based on true realities, challenging ideas, and ways in which language is used; and the positioning of HLLs in more powerful ways by using them as sources of knowledge and legitimizing their experiences. By focusing on Tessa's interactions with HLLs, my aim was to illustrate the crucial role teachers can play in facilitating the use of discursive language practices, to illustrate how the strategic use of linguistic interactions can index similarities rather than

differences, and to illustrate how code switching can be used as a tool for meaning-making.

The translanguaging practices that bilinguals engage in are not understood by schools, and it can affect whether or not 1st and 2nd generation immigrant children learn. The following chapter (7) describes the ways in which Elizabeth's language and educational development were shaped by forces in her home and school. Elizabeth's identity was co-constructed in both positive and negative ways depending on the dynamics of the classroom each academic school year.

Chapter 7: The Co-construction of a Bilingual Identity Over Time

INTRODUCTION

To better understand the role of investment in the TWDL context, I explore in this chapter how students socially positioned each other and, as a result, how being bilingual carried a great deal of status. I focus primarily on one student over a 3-year period and, by drawing on the theoretical framework of time scales (Lemke, 2002), social positioning (Davies & Harré, 2007; Holland, Cain, Lachicotte, and Skinner, 1998), cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1982), and investment (Norton, 1995) while keeping language use at the center of this scholarly inquiry (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008), I describe how she evolved as an emerging bilingual. Although every student's experience in the program was unique and warrants attention, I only focused on one female student due to time constraints.

Elizabeth's story is a representation of the way in which an emerging bilingual and a second-generation immigrant student's identity is interactionally co-constructed in a TWDL program. By providing an in-depth description of the role a student played in interactionally co-constructing her own identity and that of others, one can better understand how her identity as an emerging bilingual in the program fluctuated over the course of three years. It should be noted that the data I collected on this focal student and present in this chapter consists of Elizabeth's kindergarten, first grade, and second grade years only. While other focal students moved on to third grade, Elizabeth had to repeat 2nd grade.

This study focuses on the *deliberate* use of Spanish and English, separately and simultaneously, by Elizabeth's teachers and how this may have influenced the ways in which Elizabeth used Spanish and English. When Elizabeth repeated 2nd grade, her teacher, Ms. Epett, who I will introduce in greater detail in subsequent sections, did not use Spanish in her classroom despite the program model's design and her role as a dual language educator. Because of this, no data was collected for the year Elizabeth repeated 2nd grade. In fact, even when Elizabeth was first in the 2nd grade, I only collected data during bilingual centers time when students could elect which language they wanted to use. During the bilingual centers time, I took the opportunity to speak in Spanish with Elizabeth and with her partner; all other instructional times, Elizabeth was observed speaking in English as modeled by the teacher. I assert that not only did she follow the teacher's modeling in speaking English, but also she did this because her experiences thus far in second grade had taught her the value of speaking in English over Spanish.

I begin the following section with an introduction to the theoretical construct of *time scales (*Lemke, 2002) and identity construction. The remaining sections of this chapter discuss the findings for this case study on Elizabeth.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

SHORT-TERM AND LONG-TERM TIMESCALES AND IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

There is much to consider about time scales and what they say about the kinds of identities an emerging bilingual might take up and perform in the context of a TWDL program. Elizabeth, an emerging bilingual, started the TWDL program at Hillside

Elementary in kindergarten and was labeled as Spanish dominant by her teacher (Interview, Fall, 2010). Her mother (Interview, Fall, 2010) indicated that Elizabeth was determined to display to her peers that she really was bilingual. Elizabeth did this, for example, by speaking an "invented language" (Al-Azami 2013), which she intended to be English. In first grade, she was observed translating between Spanish and English for her peers during dramatic play. In second grade, Elizabeth was labeled as "not fully bilingual" and positioned as "struggling." She was retained and, in her fourth year of participation in the TWDL program, Elizabeth chose to write solely in English as described by another graduate student researcher who was collecting data for her thesis in Elizabeth's classroom (Dougherty, 2012).

Lemke described (2002) how time scales function according to what he refers to as a village: "Communities, like other ecosystems, are not defined by what all their participants share in common, but by how their interdependence on one another articulates across differences of viewpoints, beliefs, values, and practices" (p.11, Lemke). I observed a constant use of Spanish and English in the classrooms and, reflective of Lemke's work, becoming bilingual was what the participants in the study had in common. It is important to note that although the use of both languages was present every year, how and to what extent they were used in the classrooms and by the teachers varied.

As stated in an earlier chapter, this TWDL program was implemented at Hillside Elementary based on the advocacy work done by teachers. Working with the school and the community, they had determined there was a vested interest since the parents wanted to raise bilingual children. The TWDL model was chosen because Hillside Elementary

already had a Spanish-speaking community and many of the parents advocating for the program were the Spanish-speaking working class families who were in the community first. The upper middle-class families came in subsequent years because of the TWDL program, and worked to keep it at Hillside and strengthen it. The success of the program depended on the two groups of students: English-speaking and Spanish-speaking.

Scholars, however, have noted many factors that potentially undermine the success of the TWDL model. Valdes (1997) warned against the model by highlighting the differences in why Spanish-speaking communities, as opposed to English-speaking communities, seek to have their children educated in two languages. These differences encompass distinct viewpoints, beliefs, values, and language practices about what it means to become bilingual. While Spanish-speaking communities seek dual language programs in order for their children to develop, revitalize, or maintain a heritage language for bicultural purposes, English-speaking communities seek to raise bilingual children for global and economic gains (Valdes, 1997). Therefore, the students' interdependence on one another can transform into relationships that position Spanish-dominant speakers or 1st and 2nd generation immigrant students in deficit ways, specifically, as a resource to be used so that students from the dominant group can gain a valuable skill, bilingualism, for future global and economic endeavors (Cervantes-Soon, 2014).

The students' identities in this study are not fixed, but co-constructed through interaction, continually; in fact, much depended on how the students were positioned and, as shown in previous chapters, on the teacher's role. That is to say, the ways in which Elizabeth was positioned were partially dependent on the context of the classroom.

Elizabeth was responding to her "village" and the village was also responding to her – it was climbing the tree that climbs you back – co-constructed. As a child, she had much less power in the interactions – but she always had agency. The embedded power relationships, as described above, were constructing her in a particular way and were effectively producing a "failing student."

In what follows, I will examine how the classroom becomes the village as described by Lemke (2002), "the classroom is exactly like the rest of the social world that it contributes to the formation of identities and habits of action that are formed across the longer timescales we also spend in other places" (p. 13). Lemke further described how what is the same about the classroom compared to other contexts in our social world is what matters in terms of the co-construction of identity. By exploring how identities develop over varying time scales, one must consider two factors: first is the commonalities between different contexts, or *what is the same,* such as circulating discourses, social structures, categorization practices, and the status given to different languages and social groups; and, second is how intensely these experiences matter to the individual(s). In this study, as I stated above, what remained the same in each context was, for the most part, the students and the presence of Spanish and English. There were other contexts that remained the same, such as attending music, art, physical education with different teachers, lunch time, recess, transportation by school bus, after-school events, and, of course, family.

Lemke described short-term timescales (2002) as an experience that lasts a matter of minutes, such as a 40-minute lesson, and with "subsequent events [that] do not

reverse the change" (p. 12). An example of how short-term timescales work includes a Language Arts lesson that always involves students sitting on the carpet in front of the teacher. This "daily sitting on the carpet in front of the teacher" does not necessarily change how students experience that particular event in subsequent events. Long-term timescales also include the effects of subsequent events over time, which contribute to the individual's human social development. An example of how long-term timescales work can be considered by using the same example described above, yet by now including how a student is positioned in the classroom lesson after lesson, or year after year, by the classroom teacher, which can contribute to the construction of their identity.

The following question, therefore, guided my analysis: How are the identities of heritage language learners interactionally co-constructed over the course of four years (K-3rd grade) in a 50/50 TWDL program?

Positioning Theory, Investment, and Language Acquisition

Elizabeth's linguistic interactions will be examined using the lens of social positioning. *Positionality* is a component of identity that (Holland et al., 1998) is described as being mediated and negotiated between individuals through the use of semiotic tools, such as body language, gestures, and language use. Identity is also the social positioning of self and others across varying discourse contexts (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008, p. 25). As noted by Davies and Harré (2007), conversations contain "interactive positioning" in which individuals position each other through language or their use of particular phrases and word choice. It is through discourse analysis that one can identify

how everyday "relations of power, deference and entitlement, social affiliation and distance" (Holland et al., 1998) are reproduced in settings like the public school classroom.

In the following sections I examine the case study involving Elizabeth through multiple components of identity; specifically, social positioning (Bucholtz & Hall, 2008; Holland et al, 1998), the notion of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1982), and the investment driving students to learn another language (Norton, 1995). Furthermore, I describe how Elizabeth, as an emerging bilingual and Spanish-dominant student, interacted with seven fellow students; themselves considered emerging bilinguals, to make sense of language learning during the completion of an academic task. I detail how Elizabeth asserted her agency by using verbal and non-verbal ways of communicating. I also demonstrate how Elizabeth's experiences in her "village" taught her that being bilingual was of great value in this TWDL program.

Elizabeth's Kindergarten Year

Taking Linguistic Risks and Positioning to Construct a Bilingual Identity

According to Norton (1995) and Potowski (2004), learners will take risks in their use of language and other semiotic resources to position and reposition themselves and each other depending on how invested they are in acquiring a target language. During her kindergarten year, Elizabeth took many risks to position and reposition herself as a bilingual speaker. Her assertiveness was remarkable, and it seemed to indicate the possibility of a very successful trajectory for her in the TWDL program.

In the following transcript, students had been talking about Clifford, the big red dog, from a popular children's cartoon. It was rumored that he would be attending an after-school event called "Family Fit Night." In the scenario presented below, the students are at a writing center when Elizabeth takes a risk as a "second language learner" by attempting to speak in English about Clifford.

Excerpt 22: Invented Language.

(1) Elizabeth: Clifford … [says something inaudible] picture [with an excited tone in her voice while trying to get Mimí's attention].

(2) Mimí, slightly annoyed and aloof:

I don't know what she means.

(3) Elizabeth, replying inquisitively:

Means?

(4) Mimí: I don't know what she means? [Mark and Colt are sitting in front of their female bilingual partners: Mimí and Elizabeth]

(5) Elizabeth: *Es* blurry. / It's blurry. [trying to speak in English while pointing to her drawing]"

(6) Colt, announces: I'm not gonna write my name!

(7) Elizabeth: [Still trying to get her message across in a mix of Spanish and English] *Es* blurry… / It's blurry … [then continues speaking in an invented language.]

[A few moments later the conversation continued between Elizabeth and Mimí.]

(8) Elizabeth: [Trying to get Mimí's attention by tapping on her arm and pointing to her drawing] What's this? What's this?

(9) Mimí: [Turns to look at Elizabeth's drawing and begins to draw X's all over her drawing]

(10) Elizabeth, sounding quite annoyed:

No, no, no!

(11) Mimí: [Attempts to scribble all over Elizabeth's paper again and says] I want to draw!

(12) Elizabeth: [Pushes Mimí's arm away] No tare!

(13) Mimí: No tare? [with a mocking, yet inquisitive tone in her voice]

(14) Elizabeth: Eh-stop!

(15) Mimí: No pair? I don't know what pairrrrrr you are talking about. Is it the pear you eat or the pairrrr you do this….rrrrrr… the thing you don't want to eat, but you have to…[continues talking to herself].

(16) Elizabeth: [finishes her drawing and exclaims quite proudly] "*Ahí está* pumpkin*!* / There's the pumpkin.

During bilingual centers time, when students were able to choose in which language they wanted to communicate, and throughout my observations of Elizabeth, there were moments when I could not understand what she was saying, as illustrated above in lines 7 and 12. I knew she was trying to speak in English, and eventually I realized that she was attempting to pronounce words in English as they sounded to her. Because of the way Elizabeth's peer Mimí responded to her in line 15, some may misinterpret Elizabeth's utterance as "invented language" (Al-Azami 2013). An informed practitioner, however, considers various rationales. There are several approaches to rationalize why Elizabeth was inventing language. One could argue that, as stated above, she is simply saying English words exactly as she heard them. That is to say, it could be a phonological transfer issue; one which tends to occur to simultaneous bilinguals (Valdes, 1998). The other rationale could simply be that this is the way Elizabeth, a child who is an emergent simultaneous bilingual, acquires language. She could have remembered *no fair* as *no pair* and, by simply hearing again how the word *is* pronounced, she could possibly change her pronunciation of the word to one her peers understand.

Because Elizabeth was so invested in being viewed by her peers as a competent bilingual, she took the risk to produce English language even though it sounded like gibberish to her peers. Elizabeth's approximations contained some phonological English characteristics as well as appropriate meanings. For example, when attempting to say "no fair," although she was substituting one of the phonemes /p/ with [f], the rest of the word is pronounced correctly and the use of the phrase "no fair" makes absolute sense in the context of the utterance. By speaking in English, she was also repositioning herself as

bilingual. Mimí continued to mock Elizabeth's use of English by repeating her use of invented language, "No tare?" (line 13). There was a constant flow of positioning between the two girls. Mimí was positioning Elizabeth as strictly a monolingual Spanish speaker, and one whose attempts to speak English were unsuccessful and worthy of ridicule. Elizabeth, however, proved her bilingual skills by speaking in both Spanish and English throughout the entire interaction with Mimí even while Mimí continued to position her as an incompetent English speaker. In line 16, Elizabeth used both Spanish and English in a single utterance to identify what she had been trying to draw and to talk about in English: *Ahí está* pumpkin! / There's the pumpkin! Bucholtz and Hall (2008) described how social categories "are both embedded within systems of social inequality and shaped by the agentive practices of individual speakers… " (p. 407). Even though Elizabeth was being positioned as an "incompetent English-speaker" she was able to exert her sense of agency to disrupt the social category she was being placed in as a result of this interaction with Mimí.

Despite Elizabeth's efforts, Mimí, as "the listener" in this context and as the "English" speaker in this bilingual partnership, refused to invest in being an active listener. This idea of being an active listener is very important. It contributed to the construction of certain identities, especially when the listener refused to try to really understand the meaning of the language used and instead adopted a position of power and superiority by focusing on the correctness of use (Lippi-Green, 1997). Lippi-Green (1997) wrote about the role of not only the speaker, but also the listener in sharing communicative responsibility. Mimí chose not to share this responsibility. In the

following section, I describe how Elizabeth's attempt to produce English was also a way to demonstrate her investment in learning this target language.

Elizabeth's Investment in English

At home, Elizabeth's mother, Lupe, and at school, Elizabeth's kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Ontivero both observed Elizabeth trying to produce English (Interview, Fall, 2010). Lupe described her daughter's use of English in an interview:

> *Elizabeth desde chiquita, desde chiquita, como escuchaba el niño (hermano mayor) hablar inglés, ella, creo, quería, y se desesperaba y lo miraba y hacía mucha, mucha alegata. Según ella, estaba hablando inglés, pero mi niño ni sabia lo que decía. Entonces y ahora que está aquí, yo le decía, 'No te desesperes mami. Éste poco a poquito vas a aprender inglés, pero fíjate en las palabras*. / Since Elizabeth was little, really little, she would listen to the boy (her older brother) speak English. She really wanted to speak English, and she would lose hope, and watch him; and as far she was concerned, she was speaking English, but my boy didn't even know what she was saying. Now that she is here [at Hillside Elementary], I tell her, Don't lose hope, honey. Little by little you are going to learn English; just pay attention to the words.

In the quote above, Lupe described her daughter as arguing and pleading with her brother when speaking in what she assumed was English; but, this was in fact Elizabeth's attempt to produce English as confirmed by her older son. Part of the reason why Elizabeth was so invested in speaking English is due to the power relationships Elizabeth had observed

in her "village." All around her, inside and outside of her community, those in power spoke English.

Elizabeth appeared also to be working hard to maximize her linguistic capital when interacting with some of her bilingual classmates. This proved very challenging for her at times. Norton (2008) described the notion of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1982) as the resources, linguistic knowledge and variety, that "different classes and groups [of people use] in relation to specific sets of social forms" (1995, p. 17), where certain forms have a higher exchange value than others depending on the context. If language, both voiced and gestural, is valued in the same sense as cultural capital, then it too could be used as a tool, a cultural artifact, to assert one's position in any given context.

In the following excerpt, Sergio speaks for Elizabeth, claiming the right to voice her thoughts and ideas. I observed how linguistic capital became a tool or cultural artifact that the students could use to position and reposition themselves in the course of an interaction. When this dialogue took place, Analisa, an English-dominant middle class child, Sergio, and Elizabeth were at the writing center. Analisa and Sergio had been conversing in English about how they were supposed to complete the task. Most of the time, Analisa was confirming with Sergio that she was doing it right. Throughout the conversation, Sergio spoke for Elizabeth.

Excerpt 23: She was born speaking Spanish and English!

(1) Analisa, speaking to Elizabeth:

Hey, you can't color the eyes green!

(2) Sergio, speaking for Elizabeth without her request:

She's not. She's tracing them. You can only trace them green, not color them [continues mumbling]. [Now speaking to Elizabeth in Spanish] ¿*Verdad Elizabeth*? /Right, Elizabeth?

[Elizabeth nods in agreement]

(3) Analisa, speaking to Elizabeth:

Do you have a brown marker?

[Elizabeth nods a confirming yes]

(4) Sergio, speaking to both girls: Where is the brown marker?

[Elizabeth continues to look in her box of markers]

(5) Analisa, speaking to Elizabeth:

Where? [Looking over Elizabeth's shoulder; The brown marker is never found] She's coloring the eyes green with a crayon! [exclaiming with an annoyed and accusatory tone in her voice]

(6) Sergio: That's ok.

(7) Analisa, speaking to Sergio:

You said I couldn't color them green!

[Some mumbling in Spanish between Elizabeth and Sergio]

(8) Analisa, proclaiming to Sergio and Elizabeth:

I was born speaking English!

(9) Elizabeth, speaking in a low voice:

Me, too.

(10) Analisa, with a very confused look on her face:

You weren't born speaking English!!

[Elizabeth nods head up and down, affirming that what she said is true]

(11) Analisa, smiling at Elizabeth:

¿*Uuuh, español*? / Uh, Spanish?

[A few moments later the following conversation continued]

(12) Analisa: [smiles at video camera and says] I love Elizabeth.

(13) Elizabeth: [facial expression changes from serious and focused on her work to happy] What you say?

(14) Sergio: [seeming a little uncomfortable with what Analisa said] What did you say, Analisa?

(15) Analisa, with a smile on her face:

I said, I love Elizabeth.

(16) Sergio, once again speaking in English for Elizabeth:

She doesn't like love. Right, Elizabeth?

[Elizabeth nods in agreement with Sergio]

(17) Sergio: She doesn't like love.

(18) Analisa: She said she didn't speak Spanish.

(19) Sergio: She does speak Spanish!

(20) Analisa: Well, she does speak, but she wasn't born.

(21) Sergio: She was born speaking Spanish and English!

(22) Elizabeth: *Yo hablo mucho español y hablo mucho inglés* / I speak a lot of Spanish and a lot of English.

(23) Analisa, speaking inquisitively: English?

(24) Elizabeth: [confirming Analisa's query with an accent more like Analisa's] English.

Throughout the conversation, Elizabeth set her gaze solely on the task she was completing, positioning herself as a "good student" by staying focused on her work. At the same time, she also seemed to want to be accepted by her peers as she listened attentively to their conversation about her. She affirmed and replied, either verbally or physically, when prompted by Sergio or Analisa. As illustrated in lines 18, 37, 42, 43, these students, by speaking for Elizabeth and using mainly English, socially positioned her as not having a voice about her identity. Toward the end of the conversation, Elizabeth repositioned herself by clearly stating in Spanish that she was a competent bilingual (line 44).

Potowski (2004) described how the concept of investment "emphasizes that the overriding purpose of social interactions is for people to construct and present an image of who they are" (p. 88). Elizabeth's use of Spanish to state that she is a competent

bilingual was her way of rejecting the identity Analisa ascribed to her of a Spanish "monolingual" when speaking for her. Sergio, while speaking for Elizabeth, also contributed to her positioning as bilingual when he says, "She was born speaking English and Spanish" (line 43). He does this despite also positioning her as someone in need of defense, advocacy, and a voice. While Second Language Acquisition theorists have traditionally posited second language learners' motivation, or lack thereof, as central to their process of acquiring an additional language, Norton (1998) argued that it is the concept of investment that drives individuals to assert their interest (or lack thereof) in acquiring a second language. Norton's concept of investment is multifaceted. It is essential to the process of acquiring another language, but this belief in investment also,

> … presupposes that when language learners speak, they are not only exchanging information with target language speakers, but they are constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the social world. Thus an investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own social identity, an identity which is constantly changing across time and space. (Norton, 1995, p. 18)

When language learners speak, they are achieving several goals. On the surface, they are attempting to exchange information in their second language with target language speakers. At a deeper level, they are co-constructing their sense of identity and their positionality within a certain context. In this case study, the focal student was invested in constructing a bilingual identity within the context of the TWDL classroom.

In the following section, I provide a more detailed example when discussing how Elizabeth took linguistic risks to position herself as bilingual and what this competitive nature looked like during the kindergarten year.

The Competitive Nature of Social Relations in the Development of Bilingualism and in the Co-Construction of Bilingual Identities.

The following two dialogues, labeled as Excerpts 24 and 25, are examples culled from thirty-seven clips. These examples demonstrate how students can work together to learn their second language (Angelova, M., Gunawardena, D., & Volk, D., 2006). It should be noted that in my observations, these clips captured when students are explicitly testing the language skills of each other, and that it is understood that there are many other instances when one child's language practices inform the development of language in another child; however, these were simply harder to "see" because the students were talking about something else and were just learning language as they went along in their daily lives.

Excerpt 24: How do you say this in English? How do you say this in Spanish?[1]

(1) Elizabeth, speaking to Mimí in Spanish:

A ver, ¿cómo se dice en inglés … in *inglés ... ¿cómo se dice en inglés ... No, ¿cómo se dice en español... ummmm ¿cómo se dice dientes en español?* / Let's see,

[1] Data for this transcript was collected by Deborah K. Palmer

how do you say in English? … in English … how do you say in English? … No, how do you say in Spanish? … ummm … teeth … how do you say teeth in Spanish? … How do you say teeth in Spanish?

(2) Mimí, turning to listen to Elizabeth:

What's *dientes?* / What's teeth?

(3) Elizabeth, assuming Mimí replied correctly:

Okay*, y ¿cómo se dice* ball*?* / Okay, and how do you say ball?

(4) Mark: [sounding a little confused and trying to explain that she was asking how to say a Spanish word in Spanish] ¡*Español es dientes!* / Spanish is teeth!

(5) Elizabeth: [mouthing to Mimí how to say ball in Spanish, emphasizing the syllables] *Pe-lo-ta* / b-all

(6) Mimí, replying in Spanish:

¿*Pelota?* / Ball?

(7) Elizabeth: ¡*Sí!* / Yes!

(8) Mimí: [responding to her mouthing of the word in Spanish] You already said it.

(9) Elizabeth: [asking another question while stroking her eyes] *Y, ¿ojos?* /And, eyes?

(10) Mimí: You just said them. [also clarifying like Mark that she just said the Spanish word she wants her to translate]

In the above conversation, Elizabeth was trying to get Mimí to say words in Spanish. Just like most of their conversations, there was a level of power play involved (Excerpts: 18, 19, 22, 24, & 25). In the earlier conversation between Elizabeth and Mimí (Excerpt 18) and in first grade (see Elizabeth's First Grade Year), the two girls were paired up and asked to use Spanish and/or English to complete an activity. In each instance, either Elizabeth or Mimí challenged the other with how to say something in the target language. Interestingly, in kindergarten, they were both considered dominant in their native language. By first grade (as will be illustrated under Elizabeth's First Grade Year), however, only Elizabeth was observed translating between Spanish and English. Because they were positioned as monolinguals and were both trying to achieve bilingualism, they seemed to be in competition with one another; therefore, a level of power play was to be expected. If words could replace their actions, they might be: *Let's see who can speak each other's target language first?* In the following conversation, the girls were trying to get each other to use the other's native language; specifically they were trying to prove their bilingual competencies. In the following transcript, Mimí was now testing Elizabeth's bilingual proficiency.

Excerpt 25: How do you say this in Spanish?

(1) Mimí: [speaking to Elizabeth in English while showing her a sore on the palm of her hand] How do you say this in Spanish?

(2) Elizabeth, speaking in English:

What?

(3) Mimí, pointing to the sore on her palm:

This ….in Spanish? I know what it is.

(4) Elizabeth, grabbing Mimí's hand to look at it, replies in Spanish:

Sangre /Blood.

(5) Mimí, speaking a mix English and Spanish:

What's a *sangre*? / What's a blood?

(6) Elizabeth, replying in Spanish, but interrupted by Mark:

Sangre de que tú … / Blood of what you …

(7) Mark, replying in English:

Sangre is you bleeding.

(8) Mimí: Noooo.

(9) Elizabeth, slightly annoyed:

Yes.

(10) Mimí, speaking in English:

It's not bleeding. It's a splinter.

[A few moments pass while the teacher is redirecting students.]

(11) Mimí, speaking to Elizabeth in English:

Umm Elizabeth, your partner is Colt so, yeah, you have to go with him.

[Elizabeth says something inaudible]

(12) Mimí: How do you say go in Spanish?

(13) Elizabeth: Go is, umm, *dale*.

(14) Mimí: Ummm…*dale.*

[Elizabeth nods an affirming yes]

In the conversation above, both Elizabeth and Mimí socially positioned each other as proficient in their native languages and thus were able to learn from each other. Bucholtz and Hall (2008) described how tools, or linguistic resources, are what individuals use to negotiate their social positions and emerging identities. Specifically, the girls used their linguistic tools to learn from one another by asking each other, "How do you say 'go' in Spanish? (see Excerpt 25, Line 12)" or "¿*Cómo se dice* ball *en inglés* (see Excerpt 24, Line 3)?" In an interview with Mrs. Ontivero, she said that as the year progressed, she noticed that the use of Spanish and English was "evening out" [Interview, Fall, 2010]. In the following section, I give an example of how Elizabeth tried to make sense of who was bilingual, who spoke English, who spoke Spanish, and who did not.

THE INTERSECTION OF RACE AND LANGUAGE

During my second interview with Mrs. Ontivero, I inquired about Elizabeth's attempts to speak English. She shared that she too noticed how Elizabeth would try to speak in English like her monolingual-English and bilingual counterparts (Interview, Fall,

2010). As stated earlier, Mrs. Ontivero said that Elizabeth very much wanted to take on the verbal and physical characteristics, such as the cultural and linguistic capital, of the blonde-haired, very bilingual Valentina. Mrs. Ontivero mentioned to me that Elizabeth came to class one day with highlights in her hair. When Elizabeth asked her teacher whether she liked the highlights, Mrs. Ontivero said that she should not be highlighting her hair because she was too young. Elizabeth argued that if Valentina could dye her entire hair blonde, then why couldn't she highlight parts of her hair? Elizabeth could not fathom a blonde-haired, green-eyed little girl speaking fluent Spanish. Elizabeth assumed Valentina had dyed her hair. Elizabeth's desperation to position herself as a bilingual, therefore, emerged in her language practices, in her gestures, and even in her physical representation of herself; in fact, she seemed to be working hard to alter her *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1982). As described in the preceding two paragraphs, both of these issues, the Latino phenotypic stereotype and the ways in which emerging bilinguals communicate, such as invented language, transpired among the children as they were making sense of their bilingual identities.

As I was reviewing one of the many video recordings of Elizabeth and her classmates, I was trying to form an exact analysis of how Elizabeth was positioned when I noticed the expression on Elizabeth's face when she was listening to Adel, a light-skinned, blonde-haired Latina speak fluent Spanish. Elizabeth looked surprised. She looked as if she had never seen someone with Adel's phenotype speak her language, her Spanish. The following conversation is a further example of the intersection of race and

language as evidently experienced by Elizabeth. In this brief excerpt, the children reacted to a student's announcement that his mother would be taking their school photographs.

Excerpt 26: ***Mi mamá no porque ella tiene que trabajar con esos niños que no saben nada de inglés.***

(1) Male student: *Mi mamá nos va tomar las fotos*. / My mom is going to take our pictures.

(2) Elizabeth and Janel start chanting:

Mi mamá sí, mi mamá no / My mom yes, my mom no.

(3) Adel: *Mi mamá no porque ella tiene que trabajar con esos niños que no saben nada de inglés*. / My mom can't because she has to work with those kids who do not know any English.

Here, Adel positioned herself with a great deal of cultural and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1982; DiMaggio, 2005) by explaining how her mom could not be there for picture day because she was busy teaching children how to speak English. At the beginning of the year, Adel walked into the TWDL classroom, where becoming bilingual and bicultural was the ultimate goal, already possessing a cultural artifact that Elizabeth was just now trying to attain: bilingualism. At the same time, in the above exchange, Adel sent a clear message to Elizabeth that children who do not know any English are "esos niños / those children"; children who require someone like Adel's mom to "trabajar con ellos / work with them."

As I analyzed how others were positioning Elizabeth, I noticed that it was only during bilingual learning center activities when she made any effort to speak, let alone use her English. Academic instruction in only one language – even in Spanish – did not appear to feel safe for Elizabeth, whereas bilingual-sanctioned activities appeared to create a safe space where Elizabeth could take risks in the target language. In fact, Analisa (an English dominant speaker), like Elizabeth, seemed to choose to remain silent during whole-group instruction, but she took a risk in communicating in her second language, Spanish, when she sought clarification from Elizabeth about which language she was born with, asking, "*Uuuh, ¿español*? / Uh, Spanish?" (line 32). For both these girls, a safe space depended on who was present in the discourse episode. The sense of safety varied depending on the discursive content, the language that was being encouraged by the teacher, and the students involved. In the following section, I examine the role the students played in interactionally co-constructing their own and Elizabeth's identity during the first grade year.

ELIZABETH'S FIRST GRADE YEAR

The Strategic use of Linguistic Interactions to Exert a Sense of Agency and Co-Construct a Bilingual Identity.

During my observation at Hillside Elementary, process drama (see Chapter 6) served as a sanctioned space where the teacher acting as facilitator encouraged students to engage with new identities. In this section, I focus more on the identities that emerged; specifically, how students co-constructed each other's more durable identities, each

other's bilingual identities, and not the identity of a Cinderella or a Jorge per se. Examined here is how Elizabeth was emerging as a competent bilingual and what possibilities arose as shaped by the teacher's pedagogy.

Between Elizabeth's kindergarten and first grade years, it was obvious to me that students were being positioned in opposite ways. In kindergarten, a culture of "being on your own in becoming bilingual" positioned students in competitive ways unlike the first grade classroom where students were positioned to collaborate with one another through process drama (see Chapter 6, Excerpt 20). A collaborative culture of bilingual development in the first grade positioned Elizabeth as a source of knowledge, and it opened up a space where she could exert her sense of agency in English or in Spanish, which also served to position her as bilingual.

In the following transcript, an enactment based on one of the poems in *My Name is Jorge* (Medina, 1999), Elizabeth as young Spanish-speaking recent-immigrant, Jorge, Leo (an English-dominant middle-class student) as the friend offering advice, and Valentina as the teacher Mrs. Roberts, and the researcher are practicing, in a small group, what they plan on re-enacting in front of the class from the poem they just read entitled, *T-shirt.* Up to this point the students had only explored the techniques of process drama using traditional familiar fairy tales; this poem was one of the first pieces of multilingual and multicultural texts to which the students were asked to respond.

Excerpt 27: Please don't call me George.

(1) Researcher: So, what is going to happen over here?

(2) Elizabeth, speaking to Leo:
Mira, look, tell me again.

(3) Leo: [says something inaudible] … because she might get in trouble.

(4) Elizabeth: Let me tell her. Ms. Ms. Teacher.

(5) Valentina: Umm, yes, George.

(6) Elizabeth, looking at me inquisitively:
Mmmm please, Teacher??

(7) Researcher: Hmm?

(8) Elizabeth: Please teacher?

(9) Researcher, nodding yes:
Mmmhmm.

(10) Elizabeth: Please Teacher?

(11) Valentina: It's kind of disrespectful calling them their last name.

(12) Elizabeth: Ohhh…Ms. Roberts?

(13) Valentina: Yes, George?

(14) Elizabeth: Please don't tell me George [looking at me for the okay because I assume she's not sure if what she is saying in English is correct]

(15) Researcher: What, what? *¿Qué quieres decir?* / What do you want to say? [other students were asking me questions while this conversation was being recorded]

(16) Elizabeth: Please, don't tell me, uhhhh … [translanguaging: responding to my Spanish]

(17) Researcher: Please don't call me …

(18) Elizabeth: Please don't call me George [turning head from me to look back at Valentina, who was playing the teacher]

(19) Researcher: Yeah. [Now, looking at Valentina, who doesn't know how to respond] What are you going to say? She just said, please don't call me George.

(20)Valentina: George is your name, and so we have to call you by your name.

(21) Elizabeth, cheerfully**:**
Okay.

(22) Researcher: Did you hear what she said?

(23) Elizabeth: No.

(24) Researcher: Oh, say it again.

(25) Valentina: Umm, we have to call you by your name because that's your name.

(26) Elizabeth: [very quick to respond this time]…but I no like it because I want to call me Jorge.

(27) Valentina: Okay.

(28) Researcher, speaking to Leo:
Friend, what's your advice to Jorge?

(29) Leo: Umm, that she, umm, should umm … [Elizabeth whispers something in his ear]

(30) Leo, with a smile on his face:
Maybe learn gumdrop?

(31) Elizabeth: [looking upset or bothered. My guess is that she said learn English or Spanish because other kids ended up saying that in the discussion following the dramatic play.]

Through process drama, I witnessed Elizabeth and other 1st and 2nd generation HLLs truly emerge as experts in demonstrating what translation and code switching looked and sounded like; in fact, their translanguaging practices were very natural and

productive for them. Ms. Jackson, the first grade teacher, and I had read the poem *T-shirt* to the class in English. Students were, therefore, re-enacting scenes in English, but they could choose to do it in either language.

In the transcript above, Elizabeth once again used Spanish and English in resourceful ways. Prior to my interrupting the small group, Elizabeth and her peers had been practicing. When I approached them and asked what they were planning on presenting, Elizabeth code switched and said to her partner, "*Mira*, look, tell me again." Her partner, Leo, reminded her that he does not think Elizabeth, or Jorge in this case, should be telling the teacher, played by Valentina, what to do because Elizabeth could get in trouble. Elizabeth's response indicated to Leo, who was there to be Jorge's friend and give advice, that sometimes it is alright to stand up for yourself, even when questioning an authority figure. When Elizabeth responded to Valentina as the teacher, she looks to me, the researcher, as a language resource to confirm she was saying the following English phrase correctly, "Please, teacher …." I confirmed this, and Elizabeth continued. Later, Elizabeth looked to me again to confirm she is saying *George* correctly in English. I responded in Spanish, making sure I understood her question, because I was distracted with other students, and Elizabeth responded in English. Part of the way the teacher and I interacted with students was by prompting them to respond with possible advice as to how to solve the main character's problem. Toward the end of the conversation presented above, I asked Elizabeth's "friend" if he had any advice for her. I did this because he had been quiet throughout the interactions. Elizabeth, noticed his hesitation, offered him help and provided a possible response in English for him, whispering in his ear, "… to learn

English [or Spanish].” Learning English or Spanish was the solution the students came up with during the whole-class re-enactment. Instead or uttering what Elizabeth has suggested, Leo said with a smile on his face, “…maybe learn gumdrop?” Elizabeth’s facial expression changed from someone who seemed confident in translating for a “friend” and in standing up, as Jorge, to her “teacher,” to someone who is disappointed, even hurt, by Leo’s “advice” or supposed “confusion.” Elizabeth’s upset expression could be based on the fact that Leo did not take her “help” seriously. Interestingly, both Leo and Elizabeth had been in the TWDL program for the same amount of time; but, Leo rarely, if ever, was observed speaking or attempting to speak Spanish. Elizabeth could also be bothered by the fact that she is trying hard to learn Leo’s language, English, yet he had not learned her language, Spanish. Additionally, Elizabeth seemed hurt by his supposed “misunderstanding;” although it is possible that Leo simply did not understand Elizabeth. If so, this speaks to the frustration Elizabeth also experienced the previous year in kindergarten when she did not know enough English to speak and adequately express herself. I will demonstrate in subsequent years, translanguaging practices like code switching or having the liberty to use whichever language students wanted to were framed in more deficit ways and thus Elizabeth was silenced. Moreover, such deficit framings of her hybrid language practices were not only detrimental to her academic success as an emergent bilingual, but I would argue that they also potentially contributed to her retention in second grade.

ELIZABETH'S SECOND GRADE YEAR

The Interactional Co-construction of Identiy.

A thematic analysis (Corbin & Strauss, 2007) as to how Elizabeth's identity was co-constructed in this 2nd grade year can be based on what was communicated in video and audio recordings involving two classmates, Elizabeth's classroom teacher, her mom, and Elizabeth herself. What was said in these video and audio recordings about Elizabeth as an emerging bilingual is warranted because this is the year Elizabeth was retained. As a point of interest, one other student was also retained: Juan, an emerging bilingual, and a second-generation Mexican immigrant who, like Elizabeth, had been in the program since kindergarten.

The two themes that transpired during the analysis of video and audio recordings include: the use of language labels based on a power of hegemony, and translanguaging practices to co-construct a bilingual identity. During the second grade year of the study, I decided to show video recordings to the focal students and interview the students who had been in the TWDL program since kindergarten. I did this in order to understand how they perceived their progress and that of others as bilinguals.

Research has shown that the classroom teacher sets the tone and mediates the kinds of language practices students engage in (Bartlett & García, 2009; Cummins, 2005; Potowski, 2004; Palmer & Martínez, 2013); therefore, in the following section, I begin with the interview with Elizabeth's second grade teacher, Ms. Epett (Please see Chapter 5 for a fuller description of Ms. Epett).

Describing Elizabeth: Ms. Epett's Interview and the Co-Construction of Identity

Ms. Epett supported bilingualism, but she believed that the TWDL model being implemented was inappropriate for the students' demographics at Hillside Elementary. She explained why she felt this way. Initially students were taught Language Arts in their "native" or "dominant" language and, for this reason, by the time they reached 2nd grade, those taught in English in her view did not understand an adequate level of Spanish for second grade content instruction. She said she found it challenging to try to teach a group of students whose bilingualism varied. Even with that being said, in her classroom, Ms. Epett seemed to place greater value in speaking English. In an informal interview, she said, "I like the dual language program. I don't like the model we use …because by the time [students] get to second grade they [aren't] quite ready to completely go into Spanish Language Arts. So it makes it hard for us (Interview Spring, 2013)." Mrs. Epett went on to mention that the only students who understood more Spanish and who seemed to do well in Spanish Language Arts by 2nd grade were those whose parents chose for them to begin receiving this instruction in Spanish in kindergarten. In fact, it was a complex process that placed children into Spanish Language Arts or English Language Arts in kindergarten. The process included test scores, teacher input, home language survey, and other criteria. Coincidentally, students who continued as part of the students placed in the Spanish Reading/Language Arts cohort through 3rd grade, came from homes where one or more parents had a Latino [2]background and/or were bilingual and/or spoke Spanish. The only exceptions were Tessa and Fred, who had been in Spanish

[2] Colombian-American, Chilean, Mexican, Latino Diaspora

immersion programs prior to kindergarten. As stated, Ms. Epett thought it was difficult to create and nurture a "bilingual" classroom when the model in place was not exactly the "right fit."

In my interview with Ms. Epett, we also discussed why she decided to retain Elizabeth. When she described Elizabeth, she said, "…Elizabeth *is* a Spanish-speaker, but I mean if you talk to Elizabeth she's kind of not all there sometimes." Ms. Epett further explained by describing how Elizabeth seemed to lack comprehension, and said that she didn't seem to remember what was being discussed. Ms. Epett did not have the full picture of who Elizabeth was as an emerging bilingual. The different classroom contexts Elizabeth navigated, over the course of 3 years, and in her own community may have provided a better conceptual understanding of how Elizabeth communicated and negotiated her use of Spanish and English.

Describing Elizabeth: Ms. Contreras' Interview and the Co-Construction of Identity

Throughout data collection during the 2nd grade year both teachers (see paragraphs above) commented on the different ways of communicating between students. For example, during the last month of school during the second grade year, Ms. Contreras shared the following quote about Elizabeth,

> Well I only have had her in my class because she switched, umm, groups so I had her, been having her, for two months, maybe. So, I'm still trying to get to know her. She's really quiet. Her English is a little broken, even

her Spanish sometimes. Umm, she's a student that definitely needs helps like one on one.

Elizabeth was moved to Ms. Contreras' room for Spanish Language Arts two months prior to this interview with the teacher. Ms. Contreras explained how some of the 1st and 2nd generation Latino students, specifically Cristóbal, Jason, Alejandro, and Elizabeth, who had been in the TWDL program since kindergarten, struggled with translating and said:

> Translating things into English is a little difficult. Academically they are not making the connection as far as….they are lower academically. Like street talk, you know, they are able to do that, but when it comes to a setting, a classroom, academic—it's like there are clueless."
>
> (Interview, 5/13/13).

The use of language labels in 2nd grade reinforced the idea that "academic language," in Spanish and English, was necessary in order to be considered a "proficient" bilingual *or,* as students like Sergio said, bilingual "pros" or "experts." The use of diverse language practices was not valued compared to the language practices sanctioned in school settings like the TWDL classroom. Both the students and Ms. Epett referred to certain students as an "expert" of Spanish, English, or both. When I asked Ms. Epett about the reference to an "expert" among the children, she responded, "The only time they call out 'experts' is when they don't understand a word and then they're like, 'well, my bilingual, you know, expert doesn't… isn't helping me.'" Part of the TWDL model design included pairing students based on language and content ability (see Chapter 1,

Dual Language Bilingual Education). Bilingual pairs were a unique feature of the TWDL model being implemented at Hillside Elementary. In fact, it was not uncommon to hear teachers asking students to get help from their "bilingual partner" when completing a task or during whole-group instruction. Variations of this "bilingual pair" reference evolved in the classrooms I visited. In Ms. Epett's classroom it took on the form of "expert" in Spanish, English, or both. Like Sergio, Ms. Epett's own description of the students was reflective of a social hierarchy of language used in the 2nd grade classroom. Considering that Ms. Epett set the tone for how students were positioned in her classroom, whether as "academic" bilinguals or "social" bilinguals, it may not be surprising that students like Sergio noticed and followed suit. In the following section, I examine how Elizabeth self identified as a bilingual and how her interactions with peers played a role in her co-construction of a bilingual identity.

Elizabeth Self-Identifies and the Co-Construction of Identity

When I asked Elizabeth who were the "bilingual experts" or "bilingual pros'" in her classroom, Elizabeth named herself as one. When I asked her who were the "bilingual experts" she mentioned the same group of students that Sergio did: Valentina, Tessa, Mimí, Ms. Epett, and added Cristóbal. This group of students included emerging bilinguals from various backgrounds (see Chapter 4: Portraits of Participating Students).

When Elizabeth and I were watching a clip taken during process drama in 1st grade, Elizabeth was able to see herself using Spanish and English in resourceful and playful ways [see excerpt 29]. Unlike her 2nd grade year, Elizabeth described her Spanish

during her 1st grade, not her use of English, as a bridge to understanding in English. In fact, 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrant bilinguals like Elizabeth were positioned as "social" bilinguals by the teacher and peers and not as "academic" bilinguals. In the following section, I focus on two interviews with Elizabeth's mother, Lupe (Fall of 2010 and the Spring of 2014) and describe the translanguaging practices Elizabeth engaged in as an emerging bilingual in the TWDL context and at home.

Lupe Hernández's Description of Elizabeth and the Co-Construction of Identity

This section includes the hopes that Lupe Hernandez, Elizabeth's mom, had for her children to become bilingual, a discussion of the demographic changes at Hillside Elementary, and a description of the way in which Elizabeth used her bilingual skills at home and in her community. The descriptions of Elizabeth come from two interviews I conducted with Lupe; one in 2010 when Elizabeth started the program, and the other in 2014 when Elizabeth was repeating 2nd grade. This was the last year of data collection.

In the first interview, Elizabeth's mom seemed hopeful that the TWDL program would be a positive experience for her daughter; however, she also hoped that her daughter would not forget Spanish: *"Me gustaría que …aprenda mucho el inglés pero uno espera que no se le olvide el español*"/ I would really like for her to learn a lot of English, but one also hopes that she doesn't forget Spanish (Interview, 2010). Lupe saw the value in knowing two languages and wanted to pass that down to her daughter. In fact, she also expressed an interest in learning English and said how proud she was that her older son was speaking English as well as he did. She also mentioned that he had

forgotten some Spanish because he was in a transitional bilingual education program (Interview, Fall, 2010).

The demographic changes at Hillside Elementary were relevant to many parents like Lupe, Elizabeth's mom, as well as to families who lived in the school zone and who had older siblings at the school. After I shared with Lupe that Elizabeth thought another student, Valentina, had dyed her entire hair blonde, Lupe responded by sharing her observation of another matter. Expressing surprise at seeing African-American and White children speaking Spanish, Lupe said,

> *Sí, porque a mi, me sorprende que tal morenitos hablan español. Me sorprende y, a veces, yo veo también así aquí. Y he visto y he notado …muy sorprendida porque sale un niño güerito y dice la señora, '¿Vas a hablar español?' Y yo dije, 'Ay, ¡me sorprende todo!' de esas cosas y pues de los niños.*/ Yes, it really surprises me when black people speak Spanish and sometimes I see the same thing happening here (Hillside elementary). And I have seen and noticed…quite surprised when a little white kid appears and the lady says, 'Are you going to speak Spanish?' And I said, 'Wow, it all surprises me!' those things and well the kids. (Interview, Fall 2010)

Interestingly, during a 2010 interview, when I had asked Mrs. Ontivero about the demographic changes at Hillside Elementary since 2010, she said, "Parents like Elizabeth's mom, Lupe, have little contact with the school community because they work and they have other parental demands" (Interview, 10/15/10). That is to say, for some parents, there is very little "free" time to participate in school-related events (Portes &

Rumbaut (2001). What made Hillside Elementary unique was that Latino parent participation was strong prior to 2010; however, teachers who had been at Hillside prior to 2010, described PTA meetings as altered since the implementation of the TWDL program. Specifically, teachers indicated that previously the parents of children like Elizabeth, who came from 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants, had more of a voice in PTA meetings (Interview, Fall, 2011). These changes are relevant because the types of interaction from pre-2010 to post, which contributed to the co-construction of identity, that also took place in the classroom.

When I asked Lupe about her daughter's bilingualism during the final year of data collection in 2014, Lupe said,

> *Está aprendiendo. Ella a veces … se pone en la casa como alegar mucho, y en inglés, y como yo no sé entonces yo no más la observo y luego le preguntó al grande, a mi hijo, este, que Elizabeth está alegando mucho, "¿qué es lo que dice?" y luego lo hace. "Ni sé, ni la entiendo"… Lo que sí capta ella son las groserías en inglés porque es lo que primero aprenden los niños./*She is learning. She sometimes…argues a lot at home, and in English, and like I don't understand I just watch her and then I ask my older son, umm, what is Elizabeth arguing over so much, 'what is she saying?' My son said, "I don't know, I don't understand her."…what she does seem to learn are all the bad words in English because that is what kids learn first.

Lupe described Elizabeth as someone who was *learning* English and who was not afraid to speak English, even if she did not fully understand it. Lupe noticed that what Elizabeth and children in general pick up on rather quickly are the *"groserías,"* or vulgar words or phrases. Research in language acquisition describes children as learning language, or colloquial expressions, rather quickly because they have more opportunities to interact with peers who speak the target language in authentic settings like the playground or lunch room, unlike adults who are learning a second language, their interactions are restricted to the classroom (Cook, 2008; Gas & Selinker, 2008). That is to say, Elizabeth, according to her mom, was picking up vulgar words or phrases faster than the academic language used in the classroom. In the following section, Lupe described the ways in which Elizabeth used Spanish and English in her home and in her community.

Lupe Hernandez Describes How Elizabeth Uses Translanguaging Practices at Home and in Her Community

When I enthusiastically inquired about Elizabeth's bilingualism after she had been participating in the program for four years, Lupe said, "*La maestra me está contando…que…este… hace las cosas mejor en español que en inglés… y que batalla más en hacer las cosas en inglés. Me gustaría que supiera bien, bien, bien las dos cosas*//The teacher has been telling me that she [Elizabeth] does things better in Spanish than English and that she struggles more in doing things in English. I would like for her to know really well both things" (Interview, 2014). During the interview (2014), Lupe

expressed that she wanted the best for her daughter, but that she was concerned about Elizabeth's participation in the program because she had been retained in second grade. Lupe was concerned that her daughter was not learning both English and Spanish well or at the same level. She said, "*No sé cúal es el problema de la niña* / I don't know what her problem is exactly." Lupe's concern led us to focus on the ways in which Elizabeth used Spanish and English at home and in her community. Lupe described the way *she* had seen Elizabeth use her bilingualism at home,

> *Lo que miro entre el niño de 6 años y Elizabeth es que Elizabeth le habla puro inglés al niño. Yo creo que el sí lo entiende porque le contesta en español. Se me hace raro porque sí entiende pero, no sé, si no quiere hablar el inglés o no más porque se lo contesta en español y me quedo observandolos, y Elizabeth no ….me quedo sorprendida. Ella le está hablando en inglés y el le contesta en español [laughing] /*What I see between Elizabeth and my 6 year old boy is that Elizabeth only speaks to him in English. I think he does understand her because he responds to her in Spanish. It does seem a little odd because they understand each other, but I don't know, if he doesn't want to speak English or just because he responds to her in Spanish and I keep observing them, and not Elizabeth…I'm surprised. She is speaking to him in English and he responds in Spanish.

The practice of speaking in one language and responding in another is a common form of "receptive bilingualism" and has been referred to as translanguaging (García,

2009; Orellana, 2009; Lee, Hill-Bonnet, & Raley, 2011). Lupe explained that she had asked Elizabeth to speak to her little brother in English by explaining to Elizabeth, "*Háblale en inglés porque quiero que tenga los dos idiomas porque tal vez lo entienda pero no lo quiere hablar. No sé por qué.* /Speak to him in English because I want him to have both languages because maybe he understands it, but he doesn't want to speak it. I don't know why.

It is interesting how in the first interview (2010) Lupe said that she hoped Elizabeth learned English, and she hoped that Elizabeth would not forget her Spanish. By the second interview in 2014 it seemed that the process of becoming bilingual was being framed as a problem. I argue that what the teachers communicate to parents can shape views about language learning. Lupe's perspectives seemed to have changed as the program progressed. Her goals seemed different from the beginning of the program; her optimism seemed to have turned into worry.

Lupe was not convinced that Elizabeth's little brother knew English because he only responded in Spanish. Similarly it appears (at least according to Lupe) that Ms. Epett was not convinced that Elizabeth knew English as well as Spanish because Elizabeth completed her tasks, or "*things*" as Lupe described them, better in Spanish. A dynamic view of bilingualism includes drawing on all linguistic resources and not separating tasks based on language preference or program design. In addition to describing the way Elizabeth used translanguaging practices with her little brother, Lupe included a description of how Elizabeth would translate for her, such as at the grocery store,

> [Si un] *hombre habla en inglés y luego [yo le pregunto] 'Qué dijo mami?*' [Ella responde], *'Que dijo qué esto y ésto y esto.' 'A, ok. Dile que no, o dile que sí.' Pero sí ella sí me traduzca*/If a man is speaking to me in English and I ask, "What did she say, honey? She responds, "He said this and this and this." 'Oh, ok. Tell him no, or tell him yes.' But, yeah, she translates for me.

When I inquired about whether or not Elizabeth translated in contexts that required academic jargon, like a doctor's office, Lupe said, "*Sabes que ellos sí hablan español. Pero también hablan inglés y ella empieza a platicar con ellos en inglés. Pero sí, sí me traduce la niña*/You know that they do speak Spanish. But they also speak English and she starts to talk with them in English. But yeah, she translates for me. In other words, Elizabeth came from a bilingual community. In her apartment complex, according to her mom, everyone spoke Spanish (Interview, 2010), but at places like the grocery store Elizabeth was sometimes asked to translate. Although Elizabeth understood the doctors' use of "medical jargon" in Spanish, she would speak to them in English too. What if we referred to students as "speaking English" and also "speaking Spanish" rather than Spanish "dominant" or English "dominant," like Lupe had described Elizabeth*?* A dynamic view of bilingualism considers the emergent bilingual as drawing from a continuum of language practices without any boundaries (García, 2009; Hornberger, 2003). Toward the end of the interview (2014), Lupe agreed that the TWDL program had helped her daughter with Spanish.

During my second interview (2014) with Lupe, she spoke of the value she saw in knowing two languages: "[Soy] *orgullosa de mis hijos. Hablan los dos idiomas ... porque en donde quiera se les abren las puertas* / I'm very proud of my children. They speak two languages … because wherever they go, doors will open up for them." Lupe wanted her daughter to be bilingual because her oldest son, a middle school student at the time, did not seem to speak Spanish as well anymore.

In the following section, I focus on a recording involving Elizabeth, the researcher, and Mara. I made the recording during bilingual centers time. It is representative of how students like Mara played a part in the co-construction of Elizabeth's identity as an emerging bilingual.

Mara's Description of Elizabeth and the Co-construction of Identity

The interactions that took place during the 2nd grade year created moments for Elizabeth where her bilingual identity in the classroom was questioned. For example, in the following transcript, Mara and Elizabeth were at a reading center and were each other's bilingual partner. Elizabeth had been asked to translate for Mara the book, *Bailey,* by Harry Bliss. Interestingly, this was a book, which had been translated from English into Spanish. It should be noted that Mara's participation in the TWDL program was only for the second grade year. This was because she transferred to a different school the following year (see Chapter 4 for more details).

Excerpt 28: It would be easier with someone who knows full English and Spanish.

(1) Researcher noticing how what E's is saying isn't making sense to Mara):

Do you understand her?

(2) **Mara (shakes her head no):**

Not really because she sort of like…talking slow…she says something, something, something … (inaudible).

(3) Researcher [turns to a previous page to try and facilitate comprehension]

(4) **Mara:** It'd just be easier with someone that…uh, knows full...that knows full Spanish and full English. Like someone, like you, who knows Spanish and English.

(Meanwhile Elizabeth was continuing to read the book)

The transcript above revealed how becoming bilingual meant learning in a competitive environment, such as in the kindergarten year, rather than in a collaborative way, such as in the first grade year. For example, in this excerpt, Mara expressed the desire to be paired with someone who was "fully bilingual" instead of someone like Elizabeth who was an emerging bilingual that came from a home and community where the use of language was fluid and distinct from the way it was used in her 2nd grade classroom. The constructs used in the classroom, such as "pros" and "experts," might have influenced Mara's views of Elizabeth. It is possible that Mara did not want to associate or appear to be *like* Elizabeth. To that end, it is worth remembering that Mara also said at one point, "I want to be bilingual, too. Please tell me what the teacher said"

(see Excerpt 6). At the same time though, Mara wanted to be paired with someone who *she* thought was "fully" bilingual; possibly referring to what the children were calling "pro' bilinguals or "experts." Such terms may well have circulated due to the TWDL program design used to group and pair children based on their proficiency levels in either language. Elizabeth, while having been asked to translate a book, also needed assistance in scaffolding the text in order to complete the task for someone else and for her own comprehension. For example, in the above excerpt I was scaffolding for Elizabeth by asking her questions about the book that could help her comprehend what was going on. I also asked Sergio to help us with a translation like "*a la moda /*in fashion."

In my interview, Ms. Epett agreed that *if* Mara had been part of the TWDL program since kindergarten, Mara's attitude towards emerging bilinguals like Elizabeth may have been different (Interview, Spring, 2013). I think Mara's attitude toward Elizabeth was a reflection of the way students who spoke "standard," or what was considered "academic" Spanish and English, seemed to have more value in this classroom and in TWDL program as a whole. Meanwhile, Elizabeth, an emerging bilingual who spoke vernacular, hybrid registers of both Spanish and English, are positioned to be viewed by peers like Mara as not fully bilingual. In such a classroom context, it is no wonder that Mara "hated" learning Spanish from individuals like Elizabeth. Instead of focusing on the ways in which the two languages could be used in dynamic ways, the potential benefit for both girls, Ms. Epett seemed only to describe Mara's effort to speak Spanish as "limited." For example, Ms. Epett shared that Mara would occasionally ask "*¿Puedo ir al baño?* / May I use the restroom?" (Interview,

Spring, 2013).” Perhaps Mara would have been more invested in using Spanish if she were able to draw from her linguistic repertoire rather than adhere to the strict policy of using the language of instruction.

TRANSLANGUAGING TO CO-CONSTRUCT A BILINGUAL IDENTITY

Even though Elizabeth’s identity as an emerging bilingual was questioned in 2nd grade and referred to as a “Spanish speaker from México,” but not a “bilingual expert,” and to the point that she was retained because she had “difficulties” in both languages, both Elizabeth and her mother described Elizabeth, in the interviews above, as using Spanish and English in resourceful and flexible ways.

Code Switching and the Construction of a Bilingual Identity

During my first interview of Elizabeth in the 2nd grade, she confirmed that she used both Spanish and English to communicate; yet, after watching two different videos of herself using both languages, she did not immediately recognize that she did so. In the following section Elizabeth and I discussed how she used both languages to communicate in the classroom. She confirmed that she used Spanish and English in her community by translating for her mom. A translanguaging pedagogy includes developing metalinguistic awareness of the ways in which bilingual students use their discursive language practices (García & Wei, 2013).

Our conversation began by discussing who in her 2nd grade classroom and at home used both English and Spanish simultaneously. Interestingly, Elizabeth named her

two brothers; a student teacher who is a *Méxicana* who grew up in Texas and used Spanglish, such as roofero (Interview, 5/16/13), and several students in her class who had similar backgrounds to her own. To Elizabeth, these were the individuals who used English and Spanish simultaneously when speaking. She did not mention the bilingual "pros" like Sergio did. When I proceeded to ask her about the bilingual "pros," such as Valentina and Tessa, Elizabeth confirmed that they did use both languages simultaneously, but qualified her remark by stating*, "Porque a veces no saben cómo decir la palabra en español o en inlgés /* Because sometimes they don't know how to say the word in Spanish or in English." [Interview, 5/16/13] One could argue that Elizabeth asserted her sense of agency by code switching as a tool for resistance when she described middle upper-class Latino and European-American students only code switching as a "crutch," while describing others, similar to her background, as code switching as a normal way to communicate. Here, Elizabeth's identity emerged as a confident bilingual when she described who in her class code switched and why. Bucholtz and Hall (2005) described the "local discourse context of interaction" as how identities emerge, "rather than as a stable structure located primarily in the individual psyche or in fixed social categories" (p. 585). Towards the end of our conversation Elizabeth stated that she used to do the same thing as Valentina and Tessa when she was in kindergarten, but now she did not do it as much.

Code Switching: Simply Something Bilinguals Do

I sat with Elizabeth and viewed at least four of the videos I had that highlighted her interactions in kindergarten and 1st grade. Together we watched and listened and then talked about what she had said in the video. At the end, we talked a little about her Spanish and English proficiency. When discussing the kindergarten video of Elizabeth interacting with Sergio and Analisa (see Excerpt 23), the way in which Elizabeth and I used Spanish and English simultaneously during our conversations was significant. There were 44 turns during our conversation. I spoke 23 times and Elizabeth spoke, or responded with body language, 21 times. Specifically, each of us responded nearly the same amount of times. Of those 44 turns, 21 were entirely in Spanish, which equates to 48%. Nine were in English, or 20% of the time. Eleven were code switches, which is 25%. Interestingly, Elizabeth code switched almost as many times as I did: six times for Elizabeth and 5 for me. Elizabeth used English seven turns, and I used English for 2 turns. Elizabeth used Spanish almost as many times as she spoke English and code switched six times. I used Spanish for 15 turns, English for two turns, and CS for 6 turns, which was significantly less compared to Elizabeth.

After we watched the video, Elizabeth responded to Analisa's description of her as not being "…*born speaking English and Spanish*" by exclaiming, "I wasn't [born speaking English and Spanish], but I was learning speaking English." We proceeded to discuss the girls' roles as "bilingual" partners during bilingual centers time, and Elizabeth said, "I can help her speak Spanish, and she can help me speak English" (Interview, 4/8/13). Although the English we heard in the videos prompted the use of English

between us, our linguistic exchanges were highly bilingual; this type of interaction has the potential to cultivate the linguistic resources students use in their everyday lives at school and at home.

During my research at Hillside Elementary, the set-up of the TWDL program involved children receiving Language Arts instruction from Pre-kindergarten through 1st grade in the child's "native" language. During Elizabeth's 2nd grade year, the classroom teacher used English most of the time, explaining that many of the students who had been receiving Language Arts instruction in English since kindergarten did not understand her in Spanish. By choosing to see English as an advantage over Spanish Ms. Epett seems to have sent a message to Elizabeth that English speakers took precedence over Spanish speakers or bilinguals. Yet, Elizabeth at least for a time asserted her bilingual identity with a great deal of agency. In the following section, I include an examination of the way in which Elizabeth drew on her linguistic repertoire in order to translate.

Translating to Construct a Bilingual Identity

In the following transcript I will re-visit an earlier episode (see Excerpt 19) where Elizabeth was playing Cinderella and Mimí was supposed to be playing her fairy grandmother. During the 2nd interview with Elizabeth, we watched this particular video of her and Mimí in 1st grade practicing to re-enact a scene from a traditional book, *Cinderella*. I decided to show Elizabeth this video because in it, she was translating. This was a bilingual skill she was not doing in kindergarten. After we watched the video, I

asked her what she was doing in the video. Elizabeth was not able to articulate that she was translating. In fact, she did not seem to notice.

Excerpt 29: Elizabeth Translating.

(1) Researcher: *Mira* [played video once more to where Elizabeth is translating]… *Le acabo de preguntar a Mimí ¿que le vas a decir? Mira lo que pasa. ¿Oíste lo que dijiste*?/I just finished asking Mimí, "what are you going to tell her?" Look at what happens. Did you hear what you said?

(2) Elizabeth: Mmm….mmm [shaking head no]

(3) Researcher: [stating what she said in English in the video.] What are you going to tell me?

(4) Elizabeth: *¿En inglés?/*In English?

(5) Researcher: [nodding in confirmation] *Yo le dije a Mimí, "¿Qué le vas a decir?" Y ella no respondió y luego tu dijiste.* "What are you going to tell me?' *¿Qué acabas de hacer?/*I said to Mimí, "What are you going to tell her?" And she didn't respond and then you said, "What are you going to tell me?"

(6) Elizabeth: *Hablar en inglés*./Talk in English.

(7) Researcher: (nodding in confirmation) *y dijiste lo que yo dije./* and you said what I said.

(8) Elizabeth: … *en español?/*…in Spanish?

(9) Researcher: *Sí, mira, lo vas a seguir haciendo./*Yes, look, you are going to keep doing it.

[We continue to watch the video.]

(10) Elizabeth: Uh…you want to be with us or you want to be with them? (Restating to me what she said in the video speaking to Mimí

(11) Researcher: (nodding in confirmation) *¿Qué le pregunté yo a Mimí?/*What did I ask Mimí?

(12) Elizabeth: *¿Quieres ir con el o estar con nosotras?/*Do you want to go with her or do you want to come with us?

(13) Researcher: *Y luego, ¿tú dijiste?/*And then, you said?

(14) Elizabeth: [repeating what she said in the video in English] "You want to be with us or you want to be with them?"

(15) Researcher: *O sea, ¿qué hiciste?/*So, what did you do?

(16) Elizabeth: *Hable en inglés./*I spoke in English.

(17) Researcher: *Tradujiste. ¿Te recuerdas lo que significa traducir?/*You translated. Do you remember what it means to translate?

(18) Elizabeth: (nods in confirmation)

(19) Researcher: ¿Qué es?/What is it?

(20) Elizabeth: Umm … *que ... tú ...cuando ... umm ... hablas con tu mamá y un señor habla con mi 'ma en inglés, yo le*

*ayudo./*Umm…what…you…when…umm…you speak with your mom and when a man talks with my mom in English, I help her.

(21) Researcher: ¡*Sí! Hiciste lo mismo aquí. Pero le estabas ayudando a tu amiga*./Yes! You did the same thing here. But you were helping a friend.

(22) Elizabeth: (looking like she is proud of herself…smiling and all) Mmm…hmmm*, mi compañera./*Mmmm…hmm, my classmate.

When I asked Elizabeth what she was doing she would say, "*Hablé en inglés* / I spoke in English." After telling her, "*Tradujiste. ¿Te recuerdas lo que significa traducir?/*You translated! Do you remember what translating means?" she said, *"Umm…que..tú..cuando …umm…hablas con tu mamá y un señor habla con mi 'ma en inglés, yo le ayudo./*Umm…that..you..when…umm…when you talk with your mom and a man talks to my mom in English, I help her*."* A translanguaging pedagogy develops metalinguistic awareness in the ways in which bilinguals use their linguistic repertoire, such as translating or code switching.

Elizabeth and I discussed her role as a translator during first grade and outside the classroom. Elizabeth had spoken English and Spanish since kindergarten, but she had mostly been observed using the two languages when translating. This is common with individuals who are learning a "second" language (Lipski, 2005) which is different than someone who has grown up with two languages simultaneously, such as other emerging

bilinguals were observed doing in this TWDL program (Mateus, 2014; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014). In this transcript, Elizabeth discussed the times she had to use English or Spanish and each time it involved translation. She translated for her mom and for friends in the dual language program. When asked why it is important to know more than one language, or to be bilingual, she mentioned two reasons: to help people and to help herself by translating. That is, as a "helper" of others and for herself. Dorner, Orellana, and Li-Grining (2007) described how language-brokers like Elizabeth take on the role of "helper" which is a valuable resource 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrant youth bring to the classroom. Over the course of 3 years Elizabeth's identity shifted, from monolingual Spanish-speaker to translator to the helper of others, depending on the interaction she had with other students, teachers, or family members. According to Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) "the only way that such self-conceptions enter the social world is via some form of discourse" (p.587). A collaborative approach to language learning would have been more conducive for Elizabeth in co-constructing a positive bilingual identity.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER

In Elizabeth's experience, as described in this chapter, there is a very clear pattern of the types of contexts that seemed to be either more or less empowering for her. The contexts that appeared to be more empowering included the use of diverse language practices by the teacher and by students, and contexts that positioned students in positive ways in relation to each other. Once those dynamics between students were established,

such as in the first grade year, students then engaged in very natural forms of co-construction that fit the supportive relational structures the teacher created. The following paragraphs summarize patterns that emerged in the data during the kindergarten, first grade, and second grade years.

In the three classrooms for kindergarten, first grade, and second grade, a pattern emerged largely due to the TWDL model design: the three classrooms all used the Gomez-Gomez TWDL model, which included key components. Each classroom implemented, for example, the pairing of students as bilingual partners, the use of a designated language of the day, and the use of bilingual labels in the classroom environment, such as a word wall. In essence, each teacher implemented a commercialized TWDL model design. What made each classroom different, however, was the approach the teacher used to implement components of the TWDL model. In the following sections, I describe patterns that emerged in the data, which either positioned Elizabeth in a positive or in a deficit manner depending on the year, or which contributed to her development as an emerging bilingual.

During Elizabeth's kindergarten and second grade years at Hillside Elementary, the patterns that emerged included how Spanish and /or English were sanctioned. The use of Spanish and English were strictly separated as required by the TWDL model; however, depending on the language of instruction in 2nd grade by Ms. Contreras and in Ms. Epett's class, English was the language that was privileged no matter the content being taught. Additionally, both teachers, Mrs. Ontivero, in kindergarten, and Ms. Contreras, in 2nd grade, placed value on a "standard" form of Spanish. Apart from using "standard"

Spanish or "standard" English and keeping the language of instruction separated, there were pedagogical patterns that were similar during the kindergarten and second grade years. These pedagogical patterns include the ways in which students were positioned in relation to one another when it came to language learning. The classroom teachers in kindergarten and second grade created competitive contexts where students "tested" one another in their "native" language and thus created a resistance to the use of the target language by HLLs like Elizabeth.

The kindergarten and second grade classrooms were significantly different from the first grade classroom. Ms. Jackson (in part because of her involvement that year with the research study) used a distinct pedagogical approach. She implemented process drama in first grade, which opened up a space in her classroom where students could engage with new identities, share their thoughts and opinions about issues experienced by minoritized language communities, and use one another as language resources. Ms. Jackson, perhaps because of her own identity, seemed to model for her students more than the other teachers what dynamic bilingualism looked and sounded like, as they made much greater efforts to follow the TWDL mandate to maintain language separation. This pedagogical approach of modeling for students what dynamic bilingualism looks like, is perhaps not a pedagogical skill that can be taught; it seems more likely it is a natural approach that some bilinguals adopt in language use. In the last year of data collection, I did not choose to collect further data with Elizabeth because, while repeating second grade, she was observed by another graduate student to be strictly writing and speaking in English (Dougherty, Field Notes, 2013).

The final chapter (8) includes a discussion of the findings, conclusions, and the educational implications of this study is offered as a reminder to other educators, researchers, and policy-makers that research focusing on topics related to minoritized language communities is an urgent issue as the number of TWDL programs continue to grow across the U.S.

Chapter 8: Discussion, Conclusion, and Implications

INTRODUCTION

The students who were placed into to the 3rd grade Spanish cohort were a reflection of the Latino diaspora in the U.S.A. This cohort of students at Hillside Elementary included seven heritage speakers of Spanish from middle-upper class backgrounds, one new student who was a recent immigrant from México, and four of the original "neighborhood kids" *or* 1st and 2nd generation immigrant Latinos, who were also heritage speakers of Spanish. Lastly, there were two European-American students who came from English-speaking backgrounds.

Latinos from upper middle-class backgrounds, and/or who speak "standard" Spanish, and/or who are considered White in the U.S.A. and/or in their family's country of origin have similar academic trajectories as their non-Latino and White counterparts in the U.S.A. (Bonilla-Silva, 2004; Jensen, Toribio, 2003; White & Glick, 2009). The upper middle-class Latinos students in this study all came from a home where one parent was also White. Mimí was the only student from the original kindergarten cohort of upper middle-class students who had two parents of color: one parent was Colombian-American and the other parent was Korean-American. Put frankly, this TWDL program ended up serving and privileging a demographic that already had an edge in academic institutions compared to 1st and 2nd generation immigrant Latinos (White & Glick, 2009). In fact, an even harsher critique would describe the TWDL program as privileging a demographic who also had a bilingual advantage compared to their upper middle-class

English-speaking counterparts (Callahan & Gándara, 2014).

Throughout the examination of data I struggled with how to label or describe Latino students who had one parent that was European-American because technically they were all heritage language learners. Unlike the 1st or 2nd generation Latino immigrant heritage language learners this distinct group of students came from upper middle-class backgrounds. A significant finding for this study includes a new label for students who can be found in many of our nation's TWDL programs. Students who are heritage language learners, considered White, and from the middle and upper classes. I am proposing the following label, 3rd generation + *or* 3.5 generation immigrant, which combines their immigrant status in the U.S. and highlights their "bilingual advantage" compared to 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrants and to their upper middle-class European-American and English-dominant counterparts.

The TWDL program evolved to serve the needs of a specific privileged and powerful group of children: 3rd generation + *or* 3.5 generation Latino heritage speakers of Spanish. Only three of the original 1st and 2nd generation immigrant students, Leonardo, Cristóbal, and Alejandro, who started the TWDL program in kindergarten were placed in the Spanish 3rd grade cohort. There were two of the original 1st and 2nd generation immigrant students, Elizabeth and Juan, who were retained in second grade. The remaining original l st and 2nd generation immigrant students either moved away from Hillside Elementary due to gentrification or because their parent(s) had to move due to work, or they were placed in the English 3rd grade cohort.

The following section provides a discussion in response to the research questions addressed in chapters 5 through 7.

DISCUSSION

The discussion to follow is organized according to the research question being addressed. The first research question asked, *What role do teachers play in the interactional co-construction of emerging bilinguals' identities within a 50/50 TWDL program?* The kindergarten teacher, Mrs. Ontivero, the first grade teacher, Ms. Jackson, and one of the 2nd grade teachers, Mrs. Epett, had been working at Hillside Elementary prior to the implementation of the TWDL program, while the 2nd grade, Ms. Contreras, and the 3rd grade teacher, Mrs. Morales started teaching at Hillside after the first year of implementation. As described in the section on teacher profiles, all teachers in this study identified as Latina and heritage speakers of Spanish.

The concept of a figured world posits that social position is linked to experience; however, as stated by Holland et al., "…the associations children…form with different spaces and activities in their environment are, in fact, social positions that [can] become dispositions" (p.143). All teachers in this study varied in the ways in which they positioned language learning. The ways in which the teachers connected with their students and the ways in which they acknowledged the students' social positions, influenced how the teachers positioned language learning.

Academic language was valued in the classrooms over vernacular or hybrid language practices, which had consequences for some of the children; Mrs. J was the notable exception. Every teacher was aware of these inequities, although each reacted differently. Mrs. Morales used "standard" Spanish and organized her classroom according to academic ability (Electronic mail, 2/25/15). The figured world of bilingualism in Mrs. Morale's classroom sanctioned the use of "standard" Spanish, while translanguaging practices were used as side conversations or to clarify a point. The kinds of identities that emerged as a result of speaking "standard" Spanish the majority of the time, if not all of the time, in the kindergarten, 2nd, and 3rd grade teachers' classrooms, resulted in some students being positioned in positive ways, especially students who had mastered the "dominant" groups way of speaking, whether it be Spanish or English.

The use of academic language was the criteria in getting into the Spanish 3rd grade cohort. Only three of the original 1st and 2nd generation immigrant students were placed into the "Spanish" 3rd grade cohort. Three of these students were male; all of whom had mastered English and were labeled by Mrs. Morales as having strong bilingual abilities (García, 2009). Fred's and Tessa's use of Spanish in class did not seem to reflect students whose bilingual abilities included 3 components: oracy, literacy, and signacy. Where oracy includes listening and speaking, literacy includes reading and writing, and signacy includes attending (as used by Nover and Andrews, 1999) and producing language.

All five teachers were cognizant about certain students' marginalized status in the TWDL program. Each teacher did some empowering things and worked within the constraints of certain convictions. Ms. Jackson deliberately used her social position as a

Latina, her experience as a heritage speaker of Spanish, and her upbringing on the border to inform her pedagogy. Mrs. Morales had a strong voice about the social and linguistic disparities that existed in her class. One way she disrupted social and linguistic inequities was by reading multilingual and multicultural books. A struggle that emerged in Ms. Morale's classroom, and one she voiced in an interview, was that certain children, those from privileged backgrounds, spoke with a sense of entitlement, which inadvertently demanded more of her attention. Ms. Ontivero also used "standard" Spanish throughout her academic instruction, but she did something powerful with her class, which opened up spaces where students could exert their sense of agency. Students were allowed to use different registers of Spanish, although Ms. Ontivero did not. Although discussions about stereotypical phenotypes associated with Spanish-speakers occurred one-on-one with students, Ms. Ontivero was not afraid to broach the topic.

A translanguaging pedagogy (Celic & Seltzer, 2011) benefits immigrant children and their classmates in a TWDL program. When teachers used translanguaging strategies such as, multilingual books, fostering a culturally relevant learning environment, and multilingual collaborative work children interacted in linguistically productive ways. When Mrs. Morales and Ms. Jackson used multilingual books and/or poems they fostered a culturally relevant learning environment by opening up a space in their classrooms to discuss topics such as undocumented immigration or the mispronunciation of Spanish names.

Process drama facilitated the emergence of a translanguaging pedagogy, which positioned students in their development of positive academic and bilingual identities.

Ms. Jackson focused on exploring how students can draw on their language practices to bring meaning to a scene while also considering the role of process drama in co-constructing student identities. Process drama, as a vehicle, also played a role in identifying supportive bilingual strategies for all students in developing a positive bilingual and bicultural identity.

When the teacher or researcher helped facilitate conversations during dramatizations of scenes, children engaged in richer discussions about the scene and about the character they were role-playing. Interestingly, when adults participate in process drama they were more likely to do this as well, while in the other spaces it did not happen as much. Mrs. Jackson did not favor or unduly accommodate Tessa's linguistic practices, nor did she let Tessa's stereotypes go uninterrupted. In fact as the semester progressed Tessa seemed to become more empathetic and curious about individuals in her class-- that is 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrants that came from a completely different background than her.

This study also addressed the second research question, *What role do students play in interactionally co-constructing their own and each other's identities within the 50/50 TWDL classroom?* Part of the TWDL classroom is intended to support children in developing and/or maintaining a bilingual and bicultural identity (Reyes & Vallone, 2007). In TWDL classrooms, students use both and/or all their language practices in co-constructing identities together. As is the case with many students learning a second language, both their native language and their second language are used during verbal

exchanges to facilitate communication (Gass & Selinker 2008). For some children, this worked well in all the classrooms, because their linguistic repertoires fell primarily within the "standard" registers officially sanctioned in the classrooms, but for other children, the classroom teachers' acceptance (or not) of their unique linguistic practices was consequential in the kinds of identities they were able to construct or were constructed into by classmates.

A common attribute of the kindergarten, second grade, and third grade teachers approach to language learning included the use of "standard" Spanish during instruction. This approach to teaching seemed to create competitive interactions between students and an expectation that students *can* learn the target language *if* they tried hard enough. That said, the TWDL model design asked students to be bilingual partners. As partners, one was considered the Spanish dominant partner and the other the English dominant partner. Children used each other as bilingual partners to learn the target language. This characteristic of the model and its implementation by the teachers encouraged students to work collaboratively. Although some of those collaborative instances were brief in kindergarten, second grade, and third grade they did occur. Those brief moments were representative of what can happen when teachers position language learning in rich and resourceful ways. Ms. Jackson's implementation of process drama facilitated students using each other as language resources, which promoted collaboration between students. Collaboration became the norm and competition was less of an issue during process drama.

Process drama offered not only a safe place for all students to talk about sensitive issues, but also a space where HLLs could draw on various language practices that helped the students' investment in engaging with new identities. Ms. Jackson's unique approach to supporting students' vernacular and hybrid language practices in academic conversation allowed more students to be able to draw from their linguistic toolkit.

The last research question, *How are the identities of heritage language learners interactionally co-constructed over the course of 4 years (K- 3rd grade) within the TWDL program?* Some identities seemed to become more durable over time, while others faded. I noticed patterns in terms of who was and was not able to access positive identities in these four classroom spaces more consistently over four consecutive years. Students investments shifted over time in response to the classroom contexts they were in, including teacher language policies, peer reactions and interactions, and various positioning's. Initially, when I started collecting data for this project, I was interested in exploring what language learning would look like in a TWDL program, and I realized how positioning students and language learning could actually be used as a tool during moments of power play (see Excerpt 25 in Chapter 7). When children are invested to gain power and position, they will learn language.

This investment in learning language emerged the strongest amongst 1st and 2nd generation Latino HLLs during the first grade year during the implementation of process drama. Children, like Elizabeth and Josué, felt compelled to voice their concerns and interests during peer-to-peer interactions. They felt invested in the academic content because it was multiculturally and multingually relevant to them. The border-crossing

curriculum made this sense of investment possible. It was during that year that Elizabeth, Josué, and Leonardo were described by Ms. Jackson as "shining" and more vocal prior to process drama.

Students, like Elizabeth, who were highly invested in learning a second language will take risks such as speaking in an "invented language" (Al-Azami, S., 2014) in order to position and reposition themselves and others while trying to gain cultural and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1982; DiMaggio, P., 2005). The notion of investment (Norton, 1995, Potowski, 2004) as a field of research to determine how students socially position each other in the TWDL classroom is pertinent in order to create learning environments that foster and affirm the cultural artifacts (i.e., tools) all students bring to the dual language classroom. By second grade Elizabeth was retained; her teachers believed she had not learned English or Spanish well enough and had not responded to academic content compared to the way others were. Elizabeth was responding to her village where her language practices, which included translating for border-crossing purposes, were positioned as belonging to the "street" or her home.

During third grade there were only three of the original 1st and 2nd generation immigrant HLLs in the Spanish cohort. All three exhibited a strong proficiency in English according to the classroom teacher, Mrs. Morales. Leonardo, a focal student, in particular, was considered a balanced bilingual according to his LAS score. While it seemed like the expectation for 1st and 2nd generation immigrant HLLs to be placed in the Spanish 3rd cohort was a balanced form of bilingualism, it did not seem like students who came from a 3.5+ immigrant generational background (Mimí) or English-speaking

background (Fred) had the same expectation. The expectation for Mimí and Fred seemed to be the use of the academic register of English and some Spanish.

While many of the original 1st and 2nd generation HLLs moved away due to gentrification of the local neighborhood others were placed in the English 3rd grade cohort. Lastly, it should be noted that I was collecting data of a very transient demographic which means the consistency of my data collection of 1st and 2nd generation immigrant Latinos was limited compared to upper middle-class students.

It is crucial to highlight that this dissertation is not about the teachers and students as individuals, but rather about larger societal discourses within which they are situated. These larger discourses about race, class, and language operate in dialogue with institutions shaping teachers and students ways of being (Bakhtin, 1981; Bourdieu, 1977). Scholarly work focused on language ideologies describes how individual ways of being play a critical role in the way interlocutors, such as teachers and students, interact despite their best efforts to deconstruct notions about language both theoretically and in practice (Kroskrity, 2004; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity, 1998; Woolard, 1998).

CONCLUSION

By the time students reached 5th grade the local school district was moving towards implementing DLBE at the middle school level. In fact, four of the original kindergarten cohort, Tessa, Chloe, Leonardo, and María , provided a testimony to the local school board advocating for the extension of dual language program into middle

school, and also explaining why the TWDL program was beneficial for them. Tessa explained the following:

> *Yo sé español porque mis padres querían que yo aprendiera español. Aprender español me ha ayudado a poder comunicarme con mis campaneros en Hillside que solo hablan español. Cuando tuvimos un estudiante nuevo en tercer grado y el vino de México yo pude comunicarme con el porque los dos hablamos en español. También hablo español para poder ayudarles a mis padres cuandos salimos de viajes. Una vez el verano pasado fuimos á españa y yo tuve que traducirles todo a mis padres y a mi hermana mayor. /*I know Spanish because my parents wanted me to learn it. Learning Spanish has helped me to be able to communicate with my classmates that only speak Spanish at Hillside elementary. When we had a new student who came from México in 3rd grade I was able to communicate with him because we both spoke Spanish. I also speak Spanish when I need to help my parents when we travel. One time, last summer, we went to Spain and I had to translate everything for my parents and my older sister.

While Leonardo provided the following testimony in Spanish:

> *Mi mamá quería que yo fuera a una escuela donde podría aprender inglés y tambien español para que no se me olvide el español. Sabiendo español yo le puedo hablar a mi familia en lo EEUU y México. La mayoría de mi familia hablan español. Cuando vamos a un lugar importante como el bánco mi mamá aveces no entiende muy bien el inglés y yo le puedo traducir. Tambien con mis abuelos cuando reciben correros importantes yo les puedo decir lo que dice la*

*carta. En mi casa mi mamá solo me habla en español. A mi mamá le cuesta entender el inglés así que yo le tengo que hablar español. Mi mami le ayuda a nuestra vecina y nuestra vecina solo habla inglés así que o le ayudo a las dos a comunicarse./*My mom wanted me to go to a school where I could learn English and Spanish, so that I wouldn't forget Spanish. Because I know Spanish I am able to speak to my family in the U.S.A and in México. Most of my family speaks Spanish. When we go to an important place, like the back, my mom sometimes does not understand English very well and I am able to translate for her. Also, when my grandparents receive important mail I am able to tell them what the letter says. In my house my mom only speaks to me in Spanish. It is really hard for her to understand English so I have to speak to her in Spanish. My mom helps my neighbor and my neighbor only speaks English so I help both of them communicate with one another.

Their testimonies epitomize the set of contradictions that is TWDL. There are essentially two different worlds in the same classroom. Tessa described how beneficial it had been to become bilingual because she was able to communicate with people she would have not been able to had she not been part of a dual language program. Additionally, she was able to translate for her entire family during summer vacations to Spain. Leonardo, on the other hand, described how important it was for him to be bilingual because he was able to serve as translator for his mother and grandparents. He provides examples of when he has had to translate which included important places like a bank or to reiterate in English the documents that arrive for his grandparents in the mail.

Whereas Tessa was using her bilingual skills to communicate with people in other parts of the world while on vacation and in her school setting, Leonardo, as a child of an immigrant, is language brokering and using his bilingual skills in speaking and reading to bridge communication for his mother and grandparents for a completely different purpose and on a daily basis, rather than only on summer trips abroad. Leonardo's role as a language broker centers around establishing a life in a new country (Orellana, 2009).

Valdés (2005) urged the research community to identify the ways in which heritage language learners differ in their use of two or even three or more languages. By gaining a clearer picture of the ways they differ, such as reacquisition *or* attrition characteristics, we will be able to develop supportive bilingual strategies that best meet students' needs. The voice of 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrant students in TWDL settings is crucial and an integral and important part of any TWDL program. Their voices should be taken into account when designing and implementing TWDL programs. By simply assuming that first and second generation immigrant HLLs will be heard, encouraged, and given equal footing, we make a major mistake. We are assuming that first and second generation immigrant HLLs share an equal status in society with their white, bilingual, monolingual, and/or middle and upper class counterparts. The reality, however, is that they do not.

The findings in this study indicated that all students' interactions are crucial in the development of positive academic and bilingual identities for everyone in the classroom. If we do not position first and second generation immigrant HLLs as representatives of a valuable and indispensable resource, which includes different ways of speaking other

than the assumed "standard" and solely in Spanish forms of output, then we also miss out on the opportunity to teach children from majority backgrounds about racism, classicism, and sexist ideologies that dominate global spaces and are reproduced in local contexts.

When teachers position students to work together to understand and carry out a task, like process drama, students are also learning language. That is to say, they are learning language practices, rather than just vocabulary words. This study explored how students and teachers manage to work together in bilingual settings like the TWDL. For example, excerpt 20 with Valentina, Tessa, and Elizabeth is a close analysis of how teachers can position students to work together to learn language and co-construct positive bilingual identities.

The TWDL program implementation at Hillside Elementary seemed to position academic bilingualism as the only kind of bilingualism that was valued. At the same time, Hillside Elementary teachers were doing their best to implement the program they were asked to follow by the local school district. Flores and Rosa (2015) have problematized the idea of expecting "language minoritized students to model their linguistic practices after the white speaking subject" (p.149) in the classroom and the implications this can have on their academic and bilingual identities. Flores, Rosa, and other scholars continue to push for education that builds on the language practices of immigrant students (Flores & Rosa, 2015; Cummins, 2000; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Delpit, 1995, Zentella, 1997; Purcell-Gates, 1997). More research is needed in this area.

It is pertinent that TWDL programs recognize that all children in TWDL contexts fall along the biliterate continua (Hornberger, 2003) and that they should be given the

opportunity to speak and use the linguistic resources (García, 2009; Palmer & Martínez, 2013) at their disposal, whether code switching or translating, in order to communicate and to learn, regardless of the language of instruction. By doing this, all students are given an equal opportunity to co-construct their bilingual identities. An area of research that is still an open question is whether the flexible use of bilingualism in TWDL settings is an optimal practice for English or Spanish dominant students who may need more target-language input and output to develop their bilingualism than children who walk into the classroom with a greater degree of bilingualism.

Among other things, this study examined how teachers can use translanguaging strategies (Celic & Seltzer, 2011) to better even out the language terrain in TWDL classrooms, which allows all students' cultural and linguistic capital to be used to their fullest potential. The teachers' use of bilingual partners in this study seemed to facilitate language learning because it was in those partnerships where students took risks like speaking an "inventive language" for English (Chapter 7) or challenging each others' bilingual abilities (Chapter 5). In fact, several researchers have begun to explore the development of instructional strategies for multilingual contexts like the TWDL classroom (Cummins, 2005; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Palmer & Martínez, 2013; Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, Henderson, 2014). If practitioners are able to balance the language terrain via translanguaging strategies, it is possible that what happens in a TWDL program may serve to partially counteract the inequitable social relations that exist in society.

IMPLICATIONS

In this section I describe implications for minoritized language communities in regard to teaching, teacher education, research, and policy. First, I provide brief guidelines for teachers to ensure that their TWDL classroom are more equitable for 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrants. I also make recommendations for the implementation of process drama. Secondly, I encourage teacher education programs to problematize the strict separation of the language of instruction when teaching HLLs. Lastly, this section, as a result of this study, discusses possible future research in TWDL settings and language policy implications for 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrants

Teaching

When teachers in this study implemented a translanguaging or border-crossing pedagogy social and linguistic inequities between 1st and 2nd generation HLLs and students who spoke the academic register, whether Spanish or English, seemed to even out. The list below includes translanguaging strategies (Celic & Seltzer, 2011) as recommendations for teachers in TWDL classrooms based on the findings of this study:

- The use of Multicultural and Multilingual Literature.
- Bilingual Partners
- Multilingual Word Walls
- Language Experience Approach (see Excerpt 2 in Chapter 5)
- Cognate Charts
- Vocabulary Inquiry Across Languages

- Multilingual Reading and Responses (see Chapters 5, 6 & 7)
- Multilingual Collaborative Work (see Chapters 5, 6 & 7)

In this study, when teachers used the strategies listed above they opened up spaces in their classroom where *all* students could draw from their linguistic repertoires. It should be noted that there were strategies, such as Language Experience Approach and Multilingual Reading and Responses, or Multilingual Collaborative Work, teachers were using based on what they thought to be a good teaching practice, although they would not necessarily name the strategy as a translanguaging one. Specifically, the use of these strategies positioned the language practices of 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrants in powerful ways, which helped them co-construct positive academic and bilingual identities.

Based on the practice of process drama in a TWDL classroom the following are recommendations for practitioners and researchers interested in implementing a similar teaching method or replicating a similar study.

The use of traditional fairy tales to introduce process drama was pivotal in how students engaged with their characters because they included storylines students were likely exposed to and familiar with prior to first grade. This exposure and familiarity with the characters and storylines made it easier to focus on having students take on certain characters perspectives and to act in front of their peers. Once we introduced multicultural and multilingual texts students knew the routine of hearing the read aloud, stopping at a critical point, being assigned a character, and then breaking out into their small group rehearsal. That is, the use of traditional fairy tales to introduce process drama

helped students learn the routine and become comfortable acting as a certain character before delving into sensitive issues found in the multicultural and multilingual books. Initially, students engagement with their assigned character varied, from very superficial to a much more thoughtful one. Students like Tessa, Josué, Elizabeth, and others were able to humanize the character's experience through their involvement with process drama.

Using multicultural and multilingual children's books provided students with literature that reflected the language practices, such as code switching and translating, bilingual students engaged in daily. The multicultural and multilingual children's books also presented students with the social inequities commonly experienced by minoritized language communities in the U.S. Additionally, students like Tessa, who came from a language-majority and privileged background had the opportunity to engage with new identities. Another recommendation includes the teacher acting as a facilitator in order to scaffold this identity. One way Ms. Jackson did this was by encouraging students to think critically by asking them, while in character, how they felt about the issue they were trying to resolve (see Excerpt 21, Line 16) and how they planned to resolve it (see Excerpt 20, Line 34). She then made sure to connect the issue, undocumented immigration or underpaid workers, to real life experiences (Excerpt 21, Line 23). That being said, the teacher-as-facilitator played less of a role during small group rehearsals because students were being asked and expected to work independently as a group. Also, during the rehearsals students had the liberty to re-enact scenes in the language of their choosing, which kept the focus on content rather than language learning even though they

were doing both. This, in effect, nurtured and welcomed the use of both languages interchangeably and simultaneously. In fact, it was during these small group rehearsals where students negotiated the meaning of the text, the issue at hand, and their identities, in and outside of their character.

The following paragraphs discuss how this research impacts our understanding of teacher education for students who seek to become bilingual alongside heritage speakers of Spanish.

Teacher Education

Insights gained from future studies could further problematize the assumptions that exist within TWDL programs where language-of-instruction and language-of-the-day are strictly separated. By problematizing these assumptions, we can inform the ways in which researchers and practitioners alike develop translanguaging (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, & Henderson, 2014), also referred to as border-crossing pedagogy (Mori, 2007) and bilingual teaching strategies, or, as referred to by Valdés (2005), instructional language acquisition strategies for heritage language learners (Cummins, 2005; Valdes, 2005).

A response to the proposal for action by Cummins (2005) towards developing bilingual instructional strategies for heritage speakers will contribute to the conversation of how practitioners, researchers, and local community members, such as parents and school administrators, act as agentive actors in mediating learning ecologies (Gutierrez et al., 2011) where students in a classroom are considered part of a habitat, per se, and as

part of the many resources a classroom has to offer. That being said, the investigation of classroom-learning ecologies will contribute to our understanding of "how and why pedagogic bilingual practices come to be legitimated and accepted by participants" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010). Unfortunately, unless researchers from competing fields, such as foreign language education, sociolinguistics, and bilingual education come together to develop these strategies, we will continue to keep language minorities marginalized (Cervantes-Soon, 2014). These fields must find common ground and overcome their paradigmatic tensions, so that we can begin to create a pedagogy that benefits a multitude of models of bilingual education, such as dual language, transitional, and English as a Second Language; models where heritage language learners are placed to either learn another language or develop their native own.

It is hard to know whether Ms. Jackson would have pushed conversations as deeply as she did about social inequities in her classroom without my presence there. Granted the multilingual and multicultural curriculum being used was compelling and it lent itself to these kinds of discussions. In terms of teacher preparation and professional development I recommend pairing teachers with a partner who is specifically looking at the political side of instruction. This pair work may have been what compelled Ms. Jackson to engage in that discourse. The other teachers at Hillside Elementary did not have this opportunity. To be fair, I wonder if other teachers would have done the same. When I interrupted the discourse to focus on humanizing the experience and bringing a social justice purpose, I may have given Ms. Jackson the idea that it was okay to make these interruptions and that this dialogue was not only okay, but also necessary.

Research

This study points towards the need for future research in TWDL contexts to open up spaces in the classroom which allow students to challenge the dominant societal discourses that give power to people from language majority backgrounds (Bourdieu, 1982). One way this study did this was by highlighting the use of translanguaging practices and the interactional co-construction of a bilingual identity between emerging bilinguals in a TWDL setting. That is, researchers and practitioners should examine the ways the dual immersion context has the potential to harness students' efforts to position themselves as powerful and legitimate as an investment for learning. In this study, process drama was the method that allowed students to co-construct powerful and legitimate academic and bilingual identities.

This study highlighted the emergence of a translanguaging pedagogy and the consequences of language separation. Further research is needed in exploring how a translanguaguing pedagogy benefits *all* students. That is, input and output in the target language is especially necessary for English dominant students (Potowski, 2007; Swain, 2000) who may not come from bilingual homes and communities. How then, would teachers implement a translanguaging pedagogy without compromising the language acquisition of students in TWDL settings who need that input and output of the target language. How do we address this tension? Would it include a protected space for Spanish *and* a protected space for translanguaging in the classroom? Further research is needed in this area.

Lastly, a gap in the research of language minorities includes the idea of academic bilingualism, which also favors standard varieties languages. Nelson and Rosa (2015) touch on this issue and take it to another level in that even when minorities engage in linguistic practices that resemble their White counterpart they may still be perceived in racialized ways by members of the dominant group.

Policy

Internationally, bilingual education is considered something of the norm, and for school-aged children being bilingual or trilingual can be considered a day-to-day necessity (Cenoz, J., & Valencia, J. F., 1994; Swain, M., Lapkin, S., Rowen, N., & Hart, D., 1990). Nationally, bilingual programs like TWDL have been slow to be implemented because of the heavily contested reputation of the more common models of bilingual education such as: transitional bilingual education and self-contained English as a second language, used in many parts of the U.S. (Thomas & Collier, 2002). Locally, the Hillside Elementary community reaped the benefits of years of hard advocacy work to implement dual language bilingual education in the public school system. Since the implementation of TWDL in 2010 the local school district now has 16 elementary DLBE programs and is extending DLBE into middle school. To that end, policy supporting the use of minority languages such as, Spanish, alongside majority languages such as, English, in bilingual learning contexts should explore the importance of translanguaging strategies (Celic & Seltzer, 2011, Palmer, Martínez, Mateus, Henderson, 2014). At the same time, such policy should consider what a protected space in TWDL settings look like in regard to

using the target language? The design and implementation of TWDL programs *should* consider the dynamic language practices of 1st and 2nd generation Latino immigrant children, but also consider what the implications are when the teacher, who sets the tone in classroom discussions, code switches into English and changes the entire discourse to the language of power--- English. Wouldn't this defeat our purpose in promoting flexible bilingualism?

Anzaldua (1987) asserted how language and identity develop in tandem with one another when she stated,

> Until I can take pride in my language, I cannot take pride in myself. Until I can accept as legitimate Chicano Texas Spanish, Tex-Mex and all the other languages I speak, I cannot accept the legitimacy of myself. Until I am free to write bilingually and to switch codes without having always to translate, while I still have to speak English or Spanish when I would rather speak Spanglish, and as long as I have to accommodate the English speakers rather than having them accommodate me, my tongue will be illegitimate. (p. 81)

May the work we do for language minoritized communities continue to positively impact and inform teacher education programs, research, and policy changes to even out the linguistic terrain many of our immigrant children navigate as students and as global citizens of our multicultural and multilingual world.

Epilogue: My Identity Mantra

I am not a remedial student.

I've got this.

I can write and articulate just as well as privileged peers.

I am not that *other(ed) person*.

I have agency.

I can create spaces of agency.

I know when I am living in a figured world that oppresses me.

I know how to mediate and negotiate oppressive spaces into agentive ones.

I can identify and counter discursive practices that position me as weak, dumb, quiet or submissive.

I have tools that will help me construct the identity I need to achieve my academic goals.

I am not *that* person.

I am who *I* say I am.

Appendices

APPENDIX A: TABLES 7-10

Table 7: Demographic Changes at Hillside Elementary from 2009-2015

Year	Hillside Student Population	Hillside Accountability Rating	Hillside Ethnic Distribution: Hispanic/ White	State Ethnic Distribution: Hispanic/ White	Hillside Economically Disadvantaged	Hillside English Language Learner (LEP)
2009-2010	188	Exemplary	87%/7%	50%/33%	92%	60%
2010-2011	220	Academically Acceptable	81%/ 12%	50%/31%	79%	51% LEP
2011-2012	293	---------	74%/20%	50%/30%	70%	40% LEP
2012-2013	300	Met Standard	70%/26%	50%/30%	63%	38%
2013-2014	285	Improvement Required	66%/30%	50%/30%	52%	33%
2014-2015	302	Met Standard	64%/30%	50%/30%	45%	30%

LEP: Limited English Proficiency

Table 8: Brief Descriptions of my One-Hour Visits to a 1st Grade TWDL Classroom.

Visit	Observation	Language of Instruction	Subject	Language of the Day:
10-6-11	Whole-group read aloud of a book: *Abrazos y Besos.*	Spanish	Language Arts	English
10-13-11	Whole-group read aloud of a book: Ricitos Dorados.	Spanish	Language Arts	English
10-20-11	Small group interaction. Students were writing a thank you card to la friend in class.	N/A		English
10-27-11	Dramatic Play begins with a read aloud of *Los tres chivitos gruff.* Students work in small groups to re-enact a scene from the book.	Spanish	Language Arts	English

11-3-11	After listening to a whole-group read aloud of *La princessa vestida con una bolsa de papel* students work in small groups to re-enact a scene from the book.	Spanish	Language Arts	English
11-10-11	After listening to a whole-group read aloud of *The Little Red Hen* students work in small groups to re-enact a scene from the book.	Spanish	Language Arts	English
11-15-11	After listening to a whole-group read aloud of a poem titled *T-shirt* students work in small groups to re-enact a scene from the poem.	Spanish	Social Studies	English
11-17-11	After listening to a whole-group read aloud of a poem titled *My Name is Jorge* students work in small groups to re-enact a scene from the poem.	Spanish	Social Studies	English
12-7-11	After listening to a whole-group read aloud of a poem titled *Packing* students work in small groups to re-enact a scene from the poem.	Spanish	Social Studies	Spanish
12-12-11	After listening to a whole-group read aloud of the book, *Sí Se Puede,* students worked in small groups to re-enact a scene from the poem.	Spanish	Social Studies	Spanish
12-14-11	After listening to a whole-group read aloud of the book *Friends from the Other Side* students work in small groups to re-enact a critical scene from the book.	Spanish	Social Studies	Spanish
12-16-11	After reviewing the read aloud of the book *Friends from the Other Side* students continue to work in small groups to re-enact a critical scene from the book.	Spanish	Social Studies	Spanish

Table 9: Video Recordings Selected for Analysis.

Date Collected	**Data Source**	**Description**
Fall 2010	Observation	Bilingual Learning Centers
Fall 2010	Observation	Whole-class Social Studies

		Lesson
Fall 2010	Observation	Whole-class Science
Fall 2011	Observation	Whole-class Language Arts Lesson: Read Aloud
Fall 2011	Observation	Whole-class Language Arts Lesson: Process Drama
Spring 2013	Observation	Bilingual Learning Centers
Spring 2013	Observation	Whole-class Language Arts Lesson
Spring 2013	Informal Student Interviews	Topics: bilingual partners, language use, & 2-way, DLE Program.
Spring 2013	Informal Teacher Interview	Topics: bilingual partners, language use, & 2-way, DLE Program.
Fall 2013	Observation	Whole-class lessons: Social Studies
Fall 2013	Informal Teacher Interview	Discussing the 2-way, DLE Program & her 3rd grade class.
Spring 2014	Informal Interviews: AP & Principal.	Topic: 2-way, DLE Program.
Spring 2014	Informal Parent Interview	Topic: 2-way, DLE Program, Language use at home/school, & focal student.

Table 10: Interviews Selected for Analysis.

Date	***Participant***	***Topic***	***Type***	***Recording***	***Duration***
Fall 2010	Kinder-Teacher, Ms. Ontivero	Elizabeth	Informal	Field Notes, Reflective Memo	~20 minutes
Fall 2010	Lupe Hernandez	Elizabeth	Informal	Audio-recording, reflective memo	~25 minutes
Fall 2011	Mrs. Jackson	Josué & Elizabeth	Informal	Field Notes, Reflective Memo	~20 minutes
Spring 2013	2nd grade	Elizabeth &	Informal	Audio-	~20 minutes

	Mrs. Epett	Mara		recording, reflective memo	
Spring 2013	2nd grade Mrs. Contreras	Elizabeth & Mara	Informal	Audio-recording, reflective memo	~20 minutes
Spring 2013	Sergio	Bilingual Partners & Focal Student	Informal	Audio-recording, reflective memo	~20 minutes
Spring 2013	Mara	Bilingual Partners & Focal Student	Informal	Audio-recording, reflective memo	~20 minutes
Spring 2013	Elizabeth	Bilingual Partner & 2-way, DLE Program	Informal	2-Audio-recording, reflective memo	~20 minutes
Fall 2013	3rd grade teacher, Ms. Morales	2-way, DLE Program	Informal	Audio-recording, reflective memo	~30 minutes
Fall 2014	Lupe Hernandez	Focal Student	Informal	Audio-recording, reflective memo	~25 minutes

APPENDIX B: *ME LLAMO JORGE*/MY NAME IS JORGE POEM BY JANE MEDINA

Spanish Version:

Me llamo Jorge.
Sé que mi nombre es Jorge.
Pero todos me llaman Chorg.
Chorg.
¡Qué feo sonido!
¡Como un estornudo!
¡Chorg!
Y lo peor de todo es que hoy en la mañana una niña me llamó

Chorg
Y volteé la cabeza
No quiero convertirme en un estornudo.

English Version:

My name is Jorge.
I know that my name is Jorge.
But everyone calls me George.
George.
What an ugly sound!
Like a sneeze!
George!
And the worst of all is that this morning a girl called to me, "George"
and I turned my head.
I don't want to turn into a sneeze!

APPENDIX C: *NADA MÁS* BY MARÍA ELENA WALSH

Spanish Version:

Con esta moneda
me voy a comprar
un ramo de cielo
y un metro de mar,
un pico de estrella,
un sol de verdad,
un kilo de viento,
y nada más.

English Version:

With this coin
I am going to buy
a piece of heaven
and a meter of beach
the arm of a star
a real sun
a kilo of wind
and nothing more

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